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Le Gendre, Charles W  
PROGRESSIVE JAPAN,

A STUDY

OF THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL NEEDS

OF THE EMPIRE

BY

GENERAL LE GENDRE

//



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The situation in which the present generation of Japan finds itself commands our sympathetic attention. Standing between a past just gone by and a coming but still uncertain future, exposed to all the storms of the present, it is often unable to discriminate, in the material that has been accumulated before it by the demolishers of the last few years, between seeds and débris.

My purpose in writing the following pages has been, if possible, to throw some light upon this scene. In determining this with myself, however, I was not wholly without selfish motives; for there are no nations with which the United States is likely to become as intimately connected by interest as Japan and her neighbors in Eastern Asia. These nations are nearer to our country than to any other great manufacturing center. They form a vast assemblage of probably over four hundred millions of souls; and when we shall have attained our highest degree of in-

dustrial development, and therefore will be able to offer to the world the necessities which are now derived chiefly from the continent of Europe, the relations between these Empires and ourselves, as guaranteed by the requirements of both, must receive an impulse the measure of which no one can foretell. Our interest, therefore, is that they be both prosperous and powerful, that they remain at peace with western powers and among themselves; and the greater and richer they become, the more beneficial will be the intercourse between them and us. Their prosperity will be for our good and whatever tends to impair it will act to our evil.

the era of seclusion heretofore prevailing around Japan is gradually closing, this Empire is naturally brought to the first rank among eastern states not only by its geographical position, but also by the advancement in civilization which its people have attained. For if, as one has said, in natural history among animals of a higher order, man and the quadrupeds, owing to their superior physical organization, are the most capable of the various movements which are ingrained in them by instinct, may we not also imagine that,

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in geography, certain countries have been so shaped after a better plan, so indented by gulfs and bays, so well supplied with valleys and rivers, in one word, so better articulated, if I may thus express myself, that they are more capable than others of serving the cause of human advancement and progress. In this manner when little Japan is compared with either China, Siam or Burmah, how much more aptitude for action do her general shape and position indicate. She forms the head of a series of volcanic islands which, peopled by a particularly progressive race, starts from the south-western end of the United States territory of Alaska, and passing by Riu-Kiu, the Miacosima group and Formosa, ends at Indi; <sup>(1)</sup>. This chain of islands seems to have been located especially around the eastern boundary of the Old World to form the advanced post of a transformed superior civilization, returning with man by a course indicated by that of the sun, to seize upon the place of its birth and give a new impulse to its suffering races and otherwise prepare them for their coming evolution in the vortex of ages.

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(1) At least at the Aracan isles so remarkable for their volcanic phenomena, and situated about 140 miles ~~SEW~~ of the mouth of the Ganges.

Doubtless in the fulfillment of this mission Japan will find rivals. Already England in India and at Hong Kong, Russia in both central and northern Asia, France at Saigon, have taken, in advance of her, their position in the same field. From what source, then, can Japan hope to draw sufficient power to maintain an honorable place among these nations? To this I reply, from herself, if, truly, she is capable of the task allotted to her. For whatever, here below, is submitted to the condition of life, evolves its career from a mysterious seed which contains in itself the rudiments of the whole being. Doubtless the genius of nations is affected in the course of ages by extraneous forces, but not so much so as to entail the destruction of the characteristic derived from a primordial source, and which, being coexistent with the other elements of life, could not take place without involving national death. So that when people commence to lose this characteristic, it is a sure sign that their final evolution is about to close, and that, as has happened to the most powerful empires, the day when they must disappear from the scene altogether, has already been marked by fate.



Thus is explained why in the inquiry of the many needs both political and social which, in this position, Japan feels, I have sought mainly from her history the aid which others might have perhaps preferred to ask solely from abstract western sciences. And, besides, it is by interpreting a people's traditions, by carefully listening to the mysterious teachings of the wise men who, in remote ages, guided its infancy, that one is apt to discover the early promise of its future. Herodotus tells us that the royal sceptre having once been promised by the oracles to whoever, among the inhabitants of a certain town of Asia, would first see the rays of the morning sun rise above the horizon, all directed their sight towards the east, except one who, wiser than the others, looked at the opposite side of the heavens; and while his competitors had still before them nothing but a sky yet buried in the shades of night, he saw at the west, the gleam of dawn that had already whitened the summit of a tower.

Ko-ishi-kawa, 26 August, 1878.





## AUTHORITIES QUOTED\*.



- 1.—A manuscript translation of *Dai Nippon Kaibiyaku-Yurai-iki*, history of the development of Dai Nippon, a popular work on Shinto published in the 11<sup>th</sup> month of the 3<sup>d</sup> year of Ansei, 1856. Doubtless many will express surprise that I have so often quoted from such an obscure book as the *Dai-Nippon-Kaibiyaku-Yurai-iki*, when I had free access to the works of men like Hirata, Mabuchi or Motoōri. This was not done, however, because of any want of appreciation of the merits of these great writers. My object in quoting from the sacred records of Japan was, if possible, to fortify myself in the difficult task I had undertaken to restore the antique base upon which the political fabric of Japan once stood; a base upon which the rights of both the Mikado and his people are founded; of rights conceded to the governed and duties inhering to the governing power, and therefore I felt that in looking for material for this base my first care must be to draw only from sources familiar to all the classes of persons for

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\* I have not given here the title of printed books found in every-one's hands and whose authors I had already named in the body of this work.

whom I was writing. In this position I could not overlook the fact that while the writing of Hirata and others, are text books for literary men, on account of being written in the square Chinese character or in the old style of Japanese composition, they are unintelligible to most other people and generally unknown to them. The Dai-Nippon-Kaibiyaku-Yurai-iki is not open to the same objection. It has been composed expressly for the common people, and it is extensively read by them; and, like all works on Shinto, being founded on the Kojiki, as a book from which to quote sacred texts, it is as unimpeachable as the most celebrated commentaries of the Shinto faith.

- 2.—*Kadaiki*, an introduction to the Koshichō by Hirata Atsutane. In this work Hirata gives valuable information relative to the form of government of Japan, previous to the introduction of Chinese civilization under Kin Mei Ten-O in the sixth century.
- 3.—*The Y-king* (book of changes), a manuscript translation in my possession.
- 4.—*Legacy of Iyeyasu* etc., etc., by John Frederic Lowder, Esquire, Barrister at law and legal adviser to the Board of revenue and customs of Japan, Yokohama, January 1874.
- 5.—*The Shooking*, translated into English by Mr. Medhurst, Sen. Shanghæ, 1846.
- 6.—*San-Kokf-Tsou-Ran-To-Setts* (Aperçu général des trois Royaumes), translated into French by Mr. Klapproth, Paris, 1832.
- 7.—*The Chun Yun* (Immutable medium), translated into Latin by R. P. Intorcetta, Jesuit, 1663.

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- 8.—A manuscript translation of the *Fu-Ken-bu san hio*, a statistical record compiled by the Nai-Mu-Sho in 1873.
- 9.—The beautiful map of Japan by Lt. Colonel Kimura, the original drawings of which by Mr. Sibuyé, were kindly communicated to me by Lieutenant-General Oyama.
- 10.—The valuable statistical collection of the O-Kura-Sho, kindly placed at my disposal by order of H. E. Okuma Shigenobu, the present Minister of Finance of Japan, and an earnest worker in the regeneration of his country.



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PROGRESSIVE JAPAN,  
A STUDY  
OF THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL NEEDS  
OF THE EMPIRE.

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CHAPTER I.

PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE.

When in the third century Confucianism<sup>1</sup> was first introduced into Japan, the leaders of the nation, in their enthusiasm for the new doctrine, made a great mistake. Convinced that the mere imposing of Chinese ideas upon the people would confer upon them the blessing to be expected from social and political transformation based upon a rational application of Confucianism, they without deliberation at one blow swept away their own national edifice, substituting for it the philosophy, the ethics, arts and sciences generally of their

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<sup>1</sup> Confucianism was introduced into Japan in the reign of Ojin Ten-O, the 16th Emperor, A. D. 270.

neighbor. The result was that the people, who had none of the characteristics of the Chinese, being unable, at first, to understand Confucianism and yet determined to cling to it for want of any other moral support, made the practice of it more a matter of conventionality and form than one of reality, believing that, to reach the desired end, it sufficed that they should possess a knowledge of a few sentences and stanzas. Thus moving at random in the dark, they soon found themselves in the midst of confusion and distrust. « When, » says a native moralist of the last decade, writing of those times, « during the severity of winter the water is frozen, the ground becomes hard from frost, the grass fades away and the leaves of the trees fall to the ground, one would be induced to think that all life is extinct in nature; but, with the first rays of the spring's sun, the ground again brings forth, fresher than ever, its gay dress of verdure and bloom. So Japan gradually declined under the moral drought that at first followed the introduction of Confucianism, and sank rapidly for centuries. It was not until her true national impulses, making their way again through the powerful organism, which had been severely shaken, but not destroyed, led her to change her course and engraft upon her own stock the principles of foreign origin » — from which combination sprang the civilization peculiar to



herself, — that she at last found the prosperity and happiness which she had in vain looked for in the mere copy of the Chinese government and ethics.

What Japan did fifteen centuries ago in relation to the civilization of China, many men of great influence in the country tried, immediatly after 1867, to make her do again in connection with that of Europe and America. According to their notion, all the ancient and long-respected usages and customs which, in Japan, had hitherto regulated the relations between sovereign and subject, man and woman, parent and child, master and servant, together with traditional antipathies and prejudices, must be abolished, as one would disregard the most trifling preferences, in a day, to make room for some foreign fabric and code of laws in their entirety.

It would be difficult to enumerate all the schemes that were devised in furtherance of these views. They embraced every field of activity, — political, agricultural, financial and industrial; but, to speak of the last three fields only, the most of them, when put in actual practice, having been started by men who had but little or no knowledge of the business they engaged in, invariably ended in failure.

The strong revulsion that followed all these untimely and injudicious undertakings may be more easily imagined than described. The people

who had been unduly impressed by the weight and influence of some of their originators, and had aided them with their time and funds only to become the victims of their own confidence, without understanding the western systems which they were intended to popularize any better after their bad experience than before, and simply judging them by the unfortunate results of the first trials, condemned them as recklessly and promptly as they had endorsed, and retired from the scene. To the excessive activity which had prevailed, a period of corresponding calm succeeded, productive of distrust, anxiety and hardship for all. It will be long before the eloquence of the best gifted can induce those who have thus suffered to again embark in similar enterprises.

For this nobody was to blame but a few heedless men. And had they been permitted, as it was at one time feared they would be, to do in politics what they had done in regard to industry, the greatest evil would have fallen upon the nation. For it was not by the wholesale adoption of peculiar foreign institutions, of which these radicals had made themselves the advocates, that the social and political changes, which it was so wildly proposed to effect in Japan, could be brought about, but only, if at all, by the logical modification of the political and social institutions already

existing in the land. A country is not *necessarily* free because it has a form of government similar to that of other nations whose people are free. If such were the case we could not well imagine two nations equally free, yet with two different social and political organizations. For if human freedom depended upon a certain form of government, one at least of those two nations would not be free at all, as it would fail to possess the required system. Now history as well as logic teaches us that what really confers freedom upon a nation is not the *form* of its government but the *principles* upon which the government is based. Thus we see that England, where, as in the despotic organizations of the middle ages the church and the state are united, is just as free as are most nations where the church is foreign to the state. How did England accomplish this? Simply by developing her historical institutions, not, as Japan is advised by so many to do in her own case, by destroying them through revolutionary changes and substituting in their stead others entirely foreign to her past traditions. Freedom in England is inherited neither from Cromwell nor from the republicans of 1649<sup>2</sup>; it

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<sup>2</sup> In January, 1644, Charles I., King of England, was brought to London, tried in the name of the people by a commission of seventy members acting under the inspiration of Cromwell, condemned to death, and executed in front of the palace of Whitehall in February. In the same year the Commonwealth was proclaimed.



is derived from her whole history and from the respect which she has for her kings, and for the rights of her lords, commons and corporations of all sorts<sup>3</sup>. In the holy legends of the sacred ages of Japan we find our views fully corroborated. When O-kuni-nushi handed the *hiro-hoko* to the lieutenants of Ten-sho-Dai-jin, the words he made use of on that occasion have a far deeper meaning than they would at first sight seem to indicate. The *hiro-hoko* was the symbol of the rule which he had so powerfully established over the people, and he meant that, although changes might be made or implied by the accession of new rulers, still unless the old usages and traditions by which the country had so long been kept within bounds were respected, the peace and happiness which he had inaugurated could not be maintained<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> It would take too long to show, by actual facts, that this statement is correct. However, this much can be said : When, in 1660 and 1661, royalty was again restored in England, a new order of things was inaugurated, which has continued to the present day, in which, without interfering with the old institutions of the country, the greatest freedom was given to the people. It is true that, in 1661, the publication of the debates of parliament was interdicted ; but this was a temporary measure justified by the extraordinary agitation through which the country had just passed. As soon as this agitation subsided, freedom appeared again in the seven years following the fall of the republican government, as is shown by the seventy new newspapers that appeared during that time in England.

<sup>4</sup> I here allude to the holy legends of Japan, as recorded in the « Kojiki », the oldest Japanese political, moral and

It would be most absurd to imagine that modern liberty is necessarily based upon the sovereignty of the people represented by a central assembly. It was upon this erroneous idea that the French, at the end of the eighteenth century, first abolished royalty and the nobility, then all distinctions between classes and individuals, and, finally, in 1792, adopted a republican form of government. The state founded upon such a basis, not being suited to the temperament of the

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social record known. These legends doubtless bear a close relation to the actual facts and occurrences which they are intended to commemorate and present them in a more vivid form than bare historical records could have done; and they are worthy of our most diligent study with a view to the discovery of historical truth. According to the legend referred to here, which, for the sake of brevity, I will give divested of all marvelous appendages, Ten-sho-Dai-jin, being in the country whence came the chiefs who, with their followers, formed the nucleus of one of the conquering races of Japan, decided to send her warriors to Toyo-ashi-bara, situated in a region now known as Kanto, in the province of Izumo, to subdue it. After a series of incidents which are not material to our narrative, Futtsu-nushi and Take-mikadzuchi arrived at a place called Inasa, where they met the most influential ruler of the district, O-kuni-nushi, and summoned him to deliver up his authority in favor of the grand-son of their august sovereign. O-kuni-nushi at once unwisely agreed to comply with this injunction, provided his two sons, Koto-shiro-nushi and Take-mina-kata, would not object. The former and elder, having been applied to, readily assented, but with the condition that he should retain his lordly status and be allowed to build for himself, in an island close by, a castle surrounded with an eight-fold hedge. His younger brother was not so pliant, but being defeated in his attempt at resistance, he also submitted, whereupon O-kuni-nushi, whose



people, instead of fostering public freedom—as it had done in Rome, whence it was copied, or as it is now doing in the United States, where the people were prepared for it from the very earliest stage of their existence—absorbed it, so that the only difference between the French Republic and the French Monarchy was that the governing power happened to fall into different hands. So true is it, that a nation, born like an individual, with certain tendencies and dispositions, will

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position had now been strengthened by the wise foresight of his elder son, withdrew in a dignified manner, promising that he would not reappear on the scene so long as the tranquillity and happiness he had inaugurated in the country should be maintained by his successors. Such, at least, is the significance which I should give to the following words said to have been used by him on that occasion : — « As my sons have assented to my views, I will submit,—not that I am unaware that numerous chieftains in this region would join me, if I were to show resistance, but no one will do so if I retire to some other place. » O-kuni-nushi then took the *hiro-hoko* which he had been accustomed to carry as a cane while traveling about to tranquilize the country, and gave it to Ten-sho-Dai-jin's lieutenant, saying : « I have obtained all my ends in governing the country through this spear. Therefore if the grand-son of the heavenly Divine (taken here in the sense of *Divus*) will use it for the same purpose he will meet with no obstacle, because when the people know that I have offered it to him, they will all obey his commands with great respect. In the future I hope the grand-son of Ten-sho-Dai-jin will rule well this Kenro-Sekai to which I have brought peace, and I will watch over it myself after I have retired to solitude. » Then he sent for the Kudo-no-kami, or the officer who had charge of roads, and, bringing him in the presence of Ten-sho-Dai-jin's lieutenant, he said : « These two officers will hereafter command you instead of me, while I will *watch* over the security of the

always return to them, whatever obstacle may stand in the way. The French, born to royalty, tried to gain an imaginary freedom by adopting the republican mode of government that had been in vogue in countries where freedom had been said to exist, but, in spite of themselves, they returned to royalty. The authority, at times, chancing to fall into unworthy hands, those of the Convention, the Commune or the Soldier, for example, the people found themselves under the most intolerable despotism.

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country from a place unknown and terribly lonesome. » No sooner had he spoken thus than he retired to his retreat. Not long after this took place, Futsu-nushi and Take-mikadzuchi commenced to travel throughout the whole country, taking Kudo-no-Kami with them as their guide. After they had spread their benevolence over it, they returned to the region they originally came from to give an account of their proceedings. Thus, at almost the very origin of Japan, was affirmed the right of the heavenly ruler of the country to affect the condition of its nobles. Then, also, was inaugurated the principle of the exercise of the divine power of the Mikado by delegation, which was fated to give rise to so many different combinations in the course of ages. The *hiro-hoko* (hiro, one fathom, hoko, spear) which O-Kuni-nushi offered to the grandson of Ten-sho-Dai-jin, is sometimes called *hiragi-hoko*, because the hilt of Yahiro-no-hoko (yahiro, eight fathoms, hoko, spear) was made of *hiragi*, or holy-wood. It was transmitted from the grandson of Ten-sho-Dai-jin and was kept in the Imperial palace until the reign of Keiko Ten-O, when Yamato-take-no-mikoto, being commanded to subdue the wicked divines living on the twelve main roads, in the eastern part of the country, and the spear being given him, he offered it to Ten-sho-Dai-jin, and asked for the sword called Mura Kumo in exchange. Then Yamato-take-no-mikoto put the spear in a vermillion colored bag and placed it in the Yahiro-no-hata-dome for worship. (*Dai Nippon Kaibiyaku Yurai-iki.*)

England, on the contrary, which was attached less to the form than to the reality, and never parted with her traditions—except once in a moment of aberration followed by quick repentance—has succeeded in obtaining true freedom. Instead of the dogma of the absolute sovereignty of the people, which was proclaimed in France, she admitted the milder principle, which has also been known in Japan for centuries past<sup>5</sup>, that no government is possible without the people. Although with a political fabric that had never been known to give freedom to any nation, she found herself freer than France, which not only had a republic, but also all the political and social appendages attending the most democratic, or, as she thought, freest form of government that had ever been devised<sup>6</sup>.

What can be said of the French may also be said of many other peoples. If the various forms of government, which from age to age have prevailed among nations and to which exception has finally been taken on the ground of their being apparently vicious, were to be thoroughly studied, it would be found that the evils with which they have been taxed were more often the result of a deviation from the broad and true principle upon

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<sup>5</sup> In the last part of chap. xv of his *Legacy*, Iyeyasu says :  
« The people are the foundation of the Empire. »

<sup>6</sup> Ernest Renan.



which they were based, than of the so-called defects in the forms themselves; and it would also appear that while there seems at first sight as great a variety of political theories as there are different governments, there exists among all an essential unity on many vital points; that the disagreements are speculative rather than real. Thus, while the Chinese constitutional rules of government provide for the division of the people into well-defined classes, the American rule excludes all such division<sup>7</sup>; and thus a difference between the principles of the political organization of the two nations, in what relates to the condition of the people, is apparently established. But when we come to investigate closely and scrutinize the social condition of the people in both countries, we see that, practically, there is no difference, the division into classes existing in the one as plainly as in the other. For instance, China has her Emperor, who, although in theory «the son of Heaven,» has to answer to the nation for his misdeeds, as may be shown by the overthrow of twenty-four dynasties. The United States has a President, also subject to the same high control. China has her princes, her magnates, her viceroys, her minor officers and her literati, all enjoying special consideration gained by personal exertion

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<sup>7</sup> This is plainly expressed in the first article of the Constitution of the United States.

and merit, or by corruption and bribery, it very seldom happening that these stations come to the possessors by inheritance; and they hold their status until they lose it by their evil conduct or misfortunes. So the United States has its public functionaries, its merchant princes, its lords of the aristocracy of money, who enjoy prominence and power among their fellow-men until, owing to bad management or the mere turn of the wheel of fortune, they fall again to their original level.

It could not be argued that the facts, by which this resemblance is established, are the mere effects of hazard. The similarity exists because of the identity of principle upon which all good governments are founded, which requires that men living in a regularly constituted society should not be equal. This was taught to the Chinese, by contemplative philosophy<sup>8</sup>, four thousand five hundred years ago<sup>9</sup>; and a closer study, based upon modern scientific methods, will teach it to us now, whenever we take the trouble to make such an investigation.

Thus we see that human society, the source of all that is ideal in life is, by nature's will, so constituted at its base that what is good, right,

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<sup>8</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>9</sup> I here allow 410 years for the dynasty of the five emperors of whom Foh-he was the first, Ta Yu, the first emperor of the Hea dynasty, having ascended the throne 2205 B.C.

true or beautiful must inspire admiration and love in man's heart. As this could not be accomplished by the simple co-existence of individuals, society, like the whole world, had to be an aristocracy, and that is what, in fact, it is. All the beings that compose it are noble and sacred, even the animals having certain rights; but all are not equal by any means. They are the members of a huge body, an immense fabric, by which a vast and almost fated work is carried on, each performing his allotted task according to his talent and his destiny. Now in the same way that human life would become impossible if man did not reserve for himself the right to subordinate all other animals to his wants, so would all society come to an end if the abstract principle that all men are entitled by birth to the same privileges of rank and fortune was universally admitted. Such principles would lead to wars between the members of the commonwealth. Where royalty and nobility exist, man would ask for the extinction of both, having done which, he would demand the suppression of the rights conferred by hereditary wealth, or resulting from the inequality of strength and talent, as was done only six years ago by the members of the Commune in France. It would be argued that it is no more just that one should be born with superior mind than that another should possess greater wealth or

advantages of social condition, neither of these privileges having been earned by personal exertion or labor. So we see that no society would be possible if our ideas of distributive justice in what relates to individuals were to be carried to extremes<sup>10</sup>; and that inequality of condition among men, whether it is inscribed in their codes, as it is in China, or not, as is the case in America, must nevertheless exist in fact, for if it were to be suppressed for a single instant, society would come to an end.

Inequality of condition, in the political fabric of the Chinese, was based upon Foh-he's conception that writing being sacred, the first rank in society necessarily devolved upon those who understood best the unfathomable wisdom concealed in it. Thus the nation being naturally divided into learned and ignorant people, in the same manner as, in America, a distinction exists between the intelligent and the unintelligent, the polite and the unpolite, the rich and the poor, it gave the most learned the highest status their missions being, as public officers, to teach the science of life to those who did not know it, so that all under them could be happy in the observance of virtue. So long as it continued to operate upon this broad principle of usefulness and benevolence,

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<sup>10</sup> Ernest Renan.



inequality did immeasurable good in the empire. But as soon as it became only a means by which the corrupt were enabled to spring into a position in which they could better oppress their fellow creatures with a view to the gaining of wealth it worked a corresponding evil. The same process was observed in the United States. The pilgrims, when flying before oppression, were made equal by a common misfortune. After they landed on the American shores, where they had to fight against the desert and the hostile Indians, they still remained equal in the presence of a common peril. But as soon as they commenced to organize themselves into a society, bound together by the necessity of preservation and defence, the inequality arising from the difference in the aptitude of each individual to contribute to the common good unconsciously began to spring up amongst them. At this stage the inequality, being productive of emulation in the promotion of the well-being of all, worked most beneficially. When, however, with the lapse of time, their immediate wants became more easily satisfied and dangers less difficult to check, the tendency of each individual to rival his neighbor in doing the most for the benefit of all, gradually degenerated into selfish motives, each working for his own advancement and endeavoring to eclipse the other in the possession of wealth.

In this manner, an essential form in the political fabrics of both the oldest and the youngest nation in the world, which, at first, had been the means of conferring so much good, at last became a powerful agent of evil among them. But, in spite of appearances, this evil is less the result of the form of the political fabrics of these nations than of the gradual disregard of the broad *principles* of government upon which they had originally been erected and upon which, to continue effective in working good, it was a *sine qua non* that they should remain.

When nations come to such a point, it is time for them to pause and ponder how to eradicate by judicious reforms the errors that have developed themselves in their national system. But, however imperative may be the necessity of doing this, it is none the less essential to proceed to the task with the utmost circumspection and care. Unless they do this, they are apt while engaged in the work of elimination and substitution, to mistake the *form* for the *principle* and in consequence to decide on many changes which would not recommend themselves if the distinction between the two were kept, and to be involved consequently in all those unnecessary inconveniences which must always result from a too sudden disturbance of the regular working of the whole social and governmental machine. Now

if such a commotion in the national structure causes suffering and loss, it follows that the greater the capacity of duration of the new organization devised in times of such transformations, the greater will be the facilities it offers to gain permanent wealth, power and happiness. This is more especially the case when applied to modern societies for whose development a reign of order and quiet is almost indispensable. In the same way that a being of a very simple organization resists diseases and other destructive influences better than one with a more complicated constitution, and that the least change in the habits of an animal with a fine and perfect organism, like man for instance, sometimes produces death, so modern civilizations, which are based upon such nice and intricate principles, are far less fitted to support crises than were those of the olden times, which were much simpler. The reason of this is that the former have very weak temperaments, if I may so express myself, so that a very slight shock is all that is necessary to affect if not destroy them. Eight days of anarchy in a country like France or the United States would cause incalculable losses ; in less than a week all the railroads would be stopped, and, with them, all traffic and travel, and by the loss of interest alone on the capital invested in these enterprises, the public wealth



would suffer a shock from which it would take a long time for it to recover<sup>11</sup>. Western civilizations have created structures of extreme precision and delicacy which will not answer their purposes unless the people have confidence in them, and have become attached to them and carefully preserve them both in essence and form. Now this they cannot do unless they thoroughly understand their mechanism and the working thereof; and to give them this understanding requires caution, patience and time.

France, by a hasty step, mistaking the republican form of government for the principle of freedom, fell into all the internal troubles by which the history of her past seventy-seven years has been marked, while England, having firmly adhered to the *principle*, has maintained the reign of order and prosperity; and China and the United States, because both have lost sight of the sound principle upon which their governments are based, have introduced the germs of cancers which, if not speedily extirpated, will ultimately work the ruin of the one and seriously impede the onward march of the other<sup>12</sup>.

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<sup>11</sup> Ernest Renan.

<sup>12</sup> This was written in December, 1875; I could not know, then, that the railroad riots which have since taken place in the United States would so soon justify my apprehensions. These disturbances, which I would be the last to excuse, can nevertheless be explained by the criminal practice which



I know that it will be argued that the circumstances of Japan are so different from those of western countries that the experience of the latter can not serve as guide to the former. This, however, is not the case, for as Montaigne, the great French philosopher of the 17th century, has said, « man is always and everywhere the same, » and such eternal principles as we must hold to be mere revelations of Heaven—and among which we classify those which we have just tried to expound,—apply to every nation or race. And, when we come to look into the peculiar circumstances of Japan closely and in the abstract, the conclusions we are led to plainly confirm those already reached.

Let us therefore state briefly what these circumstances are. Japan is far from presenting the homogeneous mass which western writers have long taken pleasure in describing her to be. She comprises a political fabric formed over two

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during the past three decades has prevailed in the United States, of placing the capital of railway companies on fictitious bases, with a view to the increase of profits by the originators of the enterprises. In these operations the interests of the workmen who had in fact been instrumental in the building of the roads were disregarded. Their true course would have been to remedy the evil by legislation. But exaggerating their weakness as compared to the strength of their opulent adversaries, they had recourse to violence. The affair is now in the hands of the people, who doubtless at the next session of Congress will set matters right.

thousand years ago by a warrior-statesman of the first order, Jin-mu Ten-O, and her constituent parts are essentially heterogeneous. A region was conquered here; a chief was subdued there; and this went on until its founder had all he wanted; and then forcibly setting all the different pieces side by side, he kept them together by the weight of his sword placed at the summit of the edifice he had thus built. But take this weight off, expecting its office to be filled by the sentiment of national unity, we would see the latter has not sufficient power to make the elements adhere. The present Japan is but an artificial cohesion which is maintained only by the firm hand of the sovereign. Satsuma, Chosiu, Hizen, Tosa and other provinces are each powerful personalities that will not act together for the general good unless they are kept in harmony by this hand. The past has failed to cement all these elements together. That it can be done there can be no doubt; and the work has even been commenced and been progressing very favorably during the last few years. But it is far from being completed, and until it is, all the prestige of the imperial government is needed to work the charm.

If Japan were like China, a huge mass difficult to approach, seize upon, and hold, her government might not need all the elements of strength

which her ancient constitution gives it. For the strength arising from her geographical position, combined with the feeling of independence that will always exist among Japanese whether they are divided or united—a characteristic which the Chinese have not—would be sufficient to enable the different sections of the country separately to resist any attempt by a foreign foe to conquer them, however weakened they might be by sectional jealousy. But, unfortunately, Japan is not so constituted. She is formed of a series of islands that would never be able to protect themselves singly; and their best guarantee of national preservation is their amalgamation under one rule. It would be folly to say that were she to remain weak, she would not be threatened. It is true that at the present time she has nothing to fear from Europe or America. Still she has neighbors. One of them, Russia, is fated to be her friend, but only upon the condition that her friendship shall be worth having—that is to say, that she shall become strong. A second, Corea, is too small ever to present any real danger, except as it might serve as a foothold to some other power from whence to carry on its designs of conquest. The last is China ~~herself~~, which may not be an object of apprehension to-day; but if she should ever be regenerated—and to become so she needs but to preserve her integrity



a little longer and have a great man in the imperial chair—it would be different. Her present feeble condition is no guarantee that this shall not happen at an early date, for it is from such distressing circumstances as she now is under that she has often brought herself again to life and power, and, besides, she has just come to the term when she might well look for such timely relief from destiny. The present dynasty has ruled over her for nearly two and a half centuries. Those that have preceded it have seldom lasted longer, either in the middle ages or in modern times <sup>13</sup>. In case a change of this kind should take place, in less than a decade China might well be brought up to a point where she would become most formidable to Japan.

It is not too soon for Japan to prepare herself for such contingencies. Above all she must develop her resources, increase her trade and acquire strength in her navy and greater strength still in her army. To achieve this an imperial

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<sup>13</sup> The Tsin, 264 to 420 A.D.—156 years; Northern Sung, 420 to 479 A.D.—59 years; Tse, 479 to 502 A.D.—23 years; Leang, 502 to 556 A.D.—54 years; Chin, 557 to 558 A.D.—1 year; Suy, 589 to 618 A.D.—59 years; Tang, 618 to 907 A.D.—289 years; How, 907 to 923 A.D.—16 years; After Tang, 924 to 936 A.D.—12 years; How Tsin, 936 to 946 A.D.—10 years; How Han, 947 to 950 A.D.—3 years; Chow, 951 to 960 A.D.—9 years; Sung, 960 to 1279 A.D.—319 years; Yuen, 1279 to 1367 A.D.—88 years; Ming, 1368 to 1644 A.D.—276 years; Ta Tsing, 1644 to 1878 A.D.—232 years.

form of government is the best that she could have, and a democracy would be the very worst. The experience of every democratic country goes to show that an elective system has never yet succeeded in producing what may be called a strong government. Among those who attain to authority through popular majorities, the fear of not being again chosen tending to paralyze all noble efforts except in rare cases, public functionaries, in the performance of their duties, look more to the advantage of those who put them in their places than to that of their country, although often the interests are antagonistic. This is so true that even in the United States the people are beginning to see the vice of universal suffrage when applied to some of the branches of the public service, as for instance, in the selection of officers for the administration of justice. In large cities like New York, where the scum of Europe often controls the voting, the system, in some instances, has been productive of everything but good. In diplomacy, where it obtains also, at least indirectly, it has done worse than bad; and it suffices only to have eyes to see that this branch of public service in the United States is one of the least serviceable of the kind that exists anywhere. The late President, General Grant, understood this so well, that he made the most strenuous efforts to have the

whole civil service reorganized on the principle in force in monarchical governments. In the army or navy election has never been applied. Had it been, these services would never have existed a single decade, for there is no efficiency in an army or navy if there is no discipline ; and there can be little or no discipline where the officer is merely the representative of those of whom he should be the unconditional chief and commander. Fortunately the United States does not need a strong government. It is protected against any serious attack from without by its geographical position and large size, and all the reforms found necessary are such as can be easily made by the national officials. After the revenues have been collected, the Post Office Department kept in order and the required laws provided, their functions are almost ended.

But in a country like Japan, in which the people for thousands of years have led a sort of passive existence, having few or no cares apart from the supplying of their daily wants ; and in which, industry, commerce, the finances, legislation, and government, have now to be all remodeled ; a country which has the greatest preoccupations outside and has in view schemes that must be carried out in order that its position shall be maintained in the world, the case is quite different. A nation placed in such a condition is not



formed, like the United States, by a mere juxtaposition of the individuals that compose it. It must be a huge homogeneous mass, a living organism, like man, with a soul and a head to make it move at the given moment and in the desired manner. The soul of such a nation may reside in a very few beings, provided they have been well selected, and when it so happens that they have not, they can be removed from office before they can do too great mischief; and those few beings with the head can watch and think about politics while the balance of the people freely attend to their individual affairs. Now for such a nation an Emperor, having by his side the most enlightened men among his people, who, by their influence, would be able to carry with them the rest of the populace, forms the best government that could be desired. Japan's civilization has been the work of an aristocracy—the work of a few, who originally imposed their rules by force. The conservation of the civilization must also be the work of an aristocracy<sup>14</sup>.

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<sup>14</sup> While an Imperial Government it need not be a despotism. Although, in the human organism, the head, as the seat of the mind, governs the functions of the whole body, still man's decisions are much influenced, if not entirely regulated, at times, by the general circumstances of the body. In one word the whole organism constitutes a system of functions of which some are higher and others lower, but all of which tend to insure the regular and healthy working of the organism itself. A state of affairs analogous to this could exist in the political fabric of Japan, although it is far from prevailing in it now.

Country, honor and duty are things created and sustained by a small fraction of a people who, if left to themselves, would soon almost forget the very meaning of the words. The great majority of the population in Japan (the husbandmen and traders), strictly speaking, know nothing of what exists in the political fabric that has thus been constituted. The genius of such a nation is not preserved and its future aspirations cannot be attained without a collection of superior men officially entrusted with their charge. A Dynasty is the best institution for this ; for, by binding the destinies of the nation to those of the reigning family, its circumstances are maintained in the best condition to carry out the plans of the past with a view to insure future prosperity and grandeur.





## CHAPTER II.

### THE POLITICAL FABRIC BEFORE 1868 AND THE REFORM OF 1875.

For 1212 years after Jin-mu-Ten-O the Mikados were, in the true sense of the word, the rulers of the empire which the Gods, their ancestors<sup>1</sup>, had founded. Like the Roman Imperatores, they led

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<sup>1</sup> The Imperial Generation has been called Amatsu-Hitsugi (descendants of the Sun) and it is designed to succeed the race of the Heavenly Divines who were the offsprings of Ten-sho Dai-jin who lived in Taka-ma-ga-hara (Blue sky wide plain). The country of Japan was founded by the Divines, and, as the throne has been occupied by their descendants, ever since the beginning of Heaven and Earth, it was called Amatsu-hitsugi (reign of the Emperors), or Sekai So hon-Shin-no-hoi (the throne of the General Lord of the world), because it has no equal in the whole world. After the conquest of the middle region of Toyo ashi bara (fertile rich plain) by Futsu-nashi and Take migadzuchi (see note 4, page 7), Ten-sho Dai-jin ordered her son, Masa-ya-o-Katsu-Katsu-haya-hi-amé-no-ochi-ho-mimi-no-mikoto, to proceed thither and assume the government thereof. But just as he was preparing to start, a son was born to him. This son was named Amatsu-hitaha-ho-no-ninigi-no-mikoto, and his father said he would send him in his place. When, in furtherance of this decree, Ni-ni-gi-no-mikoto was about to leave for Tcyo-ashi-bara, the three treasures, Yata-no-Kagami (star-shaped-mirror), Yasa-gami-no-tama (precious stone), and Muro-Kumo-no-tsuru-gi (sword of the closing clouds) were given him by Ten-sho Dai-jin.

their armies and directed the affairs of the state through a high office,—the Jin-Gi-Kuwan (Board of Religion), assisted by provincial delegates, who, I infer from facts set forth in the *Kadaiki* by Hirata, were a species of Proconsuls with both judicial authority and military command.

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Then Ten-sho Dai-jin, holding the mirror on her hand, said to Ni-ni-gi-no-mikoto : « You must remember that it is the same « as seeing me when you look at this mirror. You must treat « it as my soul, bow to it as reverently as when you appear in « my presence, and always keep it by you on one floor and in « one residence. » Of these three treasures, the Yasa-gami-no-tama is that which protects the family line of the Emperor, and the Yata-no-Kagami and Mura Kumo-no-tsuru-gi are the sacred treasures that preserve the nation at all times.

Though Ten-sho Dai-jin herself, did not come down to the country, yet her soul was in the mirror and the spirit of Sosa-no-o-no-mikoto (her brother) was in the sword. Therefore the mirror is worshipped in the province of Isé by the name of Ten-sho Dai-jin, and the Sword is kept by the name of Atsuta-Dai-jin (another name for So-sa-no-o-no-mikoto) in the province of Owari, for the eternal preservation of the people. [*Dai-nippon-Kaibiyaku-Yurai-iki.*]

While the Mikado reigns he is God-man. But although a man, he differs from other mortals by his Saki-mitama and Kushi-mitama :

The Saki-mitama (happy spirit) and Kushi-mitama (strange spirit) are the names of the faculties of the soul ; and the state brought about by these two Mitama, is named Nigi-mitama (harmonious spirit).

The Saki-mitama is the faculty of the soul by which we are enabled to get at the reason of every thing ; its working marks the degree of wisdom we receive at our birth, and it may be the means of rendering us happy in any condition of life. It is also known by the name of divisible spirit, because, while other persons are limited in their activity to the functions of the body alone, the Divines (taken in the sense of *Divus*) have theirs extended to those of the spirit which they can render present at the same time in all the temples or shrines which we build for their worship, wherever the same may be.

In those days the cares of the central government were confined to arms and religion. The wars undertaken were all in the interest of the governed, being directed generally against barbarians who were the object of common hatred, the Yeso<sup>2</sup>,

The Kushi-mitama is a faculty that enables us to form a proper judgment of every thing that is caused to take place, whether gradually or suddenly and to preserve the conception thereof in the soul.

The Nigi-mitama is a state of the soul in which we can act with wisdom under the working of the two mitamas already mentioned.

The Saki-mitama and Kushi-mitama are given for life, not only to human beings, but also to birds, fishes, worms and animals and creatures of every sort. These two faculties of the soul are in the spirit which we have when we are born.

As a precious stone in its natural state and before it has been polished is called Ara-tama, so this spirit has been called Ara-mitama (fresh or naturel spirit). In it, in a latent state, is the Nigi-mitama. Although the Ara-mitama of man does not differ from that which the Divines have, still, while it leaves the former subject to all changes that take place between birth and death in all mortal beings, animal or vegetable, that have their period of growth and decline, bloom and decay, it frees the latter from these conditions [ *Dai-Nippon-Kaibiyaku-Yurai-iki* ].

Through the Mikados Ten-sho-Dai-jin blesses Japan, and through Japan, the world.

Tensho-Dai-jin blesses Taka-ma-ga-hara (Taka-ma-ga-hara, blue sky wide plain, is the same as Nichi-rin-Sekai, or the world of the Sun). She will live in Taka-ma-ga-hara as long as Heaven and Earth shall continue. There is no country that does not receive the mitama (bright virtue) of the Divines. [ *Dai-Nippon-Kaibiyaku-Yurai-iki* ].

<sup>2</sup> Yeso or Yezo, in Chinese Hia-i, signifies shrimp barbarians. Those nearer to Japan were called Kuchi Yeso, or Yeso of the mouth of the country, while the others were named Oku Yeso, or Yeso of the interior. The most ancient Chinese work that makes any mention of the Yeso is the Chan-Hai-king which dates from the Han dynasty. It places the region inhabited by these people beyond the Eastern sea and describes them as having their body covered with hair. In 559 Kin Mai Ten-O having sent an embassy to China, with



the Atsuma Yebis<sup>3</sup>, and the Mosin or Momin<sup>4</sup>. The imperial machinery was naturally very simple, and its bearing upon the people, whom, in ordinary times, it left in the enjoyment of almost an unlimited degree of individual freedom, was light; and when, in times of war, it had to press more heavily on them, it was still very popular, as the inconveniences it forced upon them were all for their good. But after the formal introduction of Chinese civilization under Kin Mei Ten-O (540-571 A.D.) the form of the political fabric underwent gradual changes, till, from ordinary feudalism, it became a centralized monarchy, with eight central boards or directing offices, viz : —

1. Naka-Tsukasa-no-Sho (Board of Inner Affairs).
2. Shiki-Bu-Sho (Board of Ceremonies).
3. Ji-Bu-Sho (Board of Civil Affairs, with a special bureau for foreign affairs attached to it).
4. Min-Bu-Sho (Board of Revenue and Census).
5. Hio-Bu-Sho (Board of War).
6. Gio-Bu-Sho (Board of Justice).
7. O-Kura-Sho (Board of Finance).
8. Ku-Nai-Sho (Board of the Imperial Household).

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which went some Yeso of the province of Mutsu or Oshiu, the Emperor Kaou-Tsung inquired from the ambassador of how many tribes the Yeso were composed, and the latter answered : « Three ; the farthest are those of Tsugar (where Awomori is situated) ; next come the Arai Yeso, of wild Yeso, and then the Chikai Yeso, or the Yeso near. The latter live among the Japanese and are comprised within the limits of the empire. »

<sup>3</sup> Eastern barbarians.

<sup>4</sup> Hairy men or people.

In 786 A.D. the Dai Jo Kuwan was created in imitation of Kiun-Ki-Chu (great council) of the Chinese, superseding the Jin-Gi-Kuwan in the control of the eight boards. In it were four great ministers of state: the Dai-jo Dai-Jin, the Sa Dai-Jin, the U Dai-Jin and the Nai Dai-Jin. Then also the population, in Chinese fashion, was divided into well-defined classes, one of which, the military, commanded by a general (shogun), finally absorbed the others and, with them, gradually, most of the temporal power that for so many centuries past, had been exercised by the Mikado.

The object of the restoration of 1867 was to bring back both the direction of public affairs to its legitimate owner, and the freedom of ancient times to the people<sup>5</sup>. But the difficulties in the

<sup>5</sup> This was made known to the people by the following Acts, one of which emanated directly from the Emperor:

*The Constitution of Japan.*—Last year when the Imperial government was reformed three offices were created, and subsequently eight departments were formed among which the duties of the government were divided. These arrangements were necessarily hurried and imperfect. The constitution of the offices of government have therefore been remodeled with a view to ensure the fulfilment of the Imperial oath. This course is by no means the result of establishing those laws and regulations which have hitherto remained undetermined. As there is no departure in principle from what has been previously asserted, it is necessary that all officers of the government bear this in mind and rigidly observe the fundamental principles here laid down, performing their duties in perfect confidence, so that permanent security and comfort may be ensured to the people.

1768  
Dated, June, 1868.

[Seal of the Dai-Jo-Kuwan.]

way were great. On one side it was impossible to return to the primitive form of government of the golden age of earlier years, and, on the other, the system in force in countries such as the United States and England, where free governments existed, required elements not to be found in Japan. For the kuges and the daimios, among whom one naturally enough would have been led to look for the materials out of which to form a House of Lords, had been so long kept *fainéants* under the régime which had just been overthrown that, with but too few exceptions, they were un-

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*First.*—In ascertaining the national wishes and establishing laws and regulations the Imperial oath is adopted as a guide. The oath is as follows :

- 1st.—The practice of discussion and debate shall be universally adopted and all measures shall be decided by public argument.
- 2nd.—High and low shall be of one mind and social order shall thereby be perfectly maintained.
- 3rd.—It is necessary that the civil and military power be concentrated in a single whole, the rights of all classes be allowed and the nation's mind be completely satisfied.
- 4th.—The uncivilized customs of former times shall be broken through and the impartiality and justice displayed in the working of nature be adopted as a basis of action.
- 5th.—Intellect and learning shall be sought for throughout the world in order to establish the foundations of the empire.

The faithful execution of these different articles of the Imperial oath has been made the object of the constitution.

*Second.*—All the powers and authority in the empire is centered in the Dai Jo Kuwan. By this means the difficulty of a divided government is obviated, etc., etc.



worthy to be entrusted with the charge of public interests ; and the people, composed of the farmers, the tradesmen and artizans, born and reared under servitude, were utterly unprepared for the responsibilities devolving upon the members of a House of Commons.

It was desired to make the central government profit by an expression of the opinion of the majority of the people, and it was thought inasmuch as the retainers of the several daimios held their positions in consequence of their popularity, that, if the most influential among them were called upon to form a deliberative assembly, their union into such a body, would constitute the best representation that, under the circumstances, could be formed. Accordingly, it was decided that three samurai would be furnished from each large daimiate, two from minor ones and one from the smallest. Nominally, these delegates were to be appointed by their lords, but, in fact, the selections were made by the karos. This assembly was named the Gi Ji In.

Thus composed, the Gi Ji in first met at Kioto, in 1868, and afterward at Tokio, where its opening was celebrated with great éclat on the 18th of April, 1869, a message from the Mikado being communicated to it according to Western usages. But inasmuch as it subsequently failed to agree upon a constitutional question, and, as its deli-

berations moreover exhibited tendencies which it was feared, if they were allowed to develop, might create great embarrassment to the Mikado, its functions were gradually absorbed by the Dai Jo Kuwan. It was then adjourned *sine die* and finally abolished altogether. The Dai Jo Kuwan, upon which, thenceforth, devolved the duties of the extinct assembly, seeing that, in their new position, they had to do, in regard to the introduction of Western civilization, what their predecessors of 603 A.D. had done in respect to that of China, resolved to re-institute the government on almost the same footing as that of the earlier times. Their first care was to set aside the daimiates and rearrange the territory into Fu, Han and Ken, subsequently converting the Han into Ken, to make the system of centralization perfect (August, 1871). The governmental fabric, under these arrangements, consisted of a Supreme Government (Dai Jo Kuwan), comprising three houses, viz: the Sei-In (Superior House), the Sa-In (House of the Left) and the U-in (House of the Right). It operated through nine central offices, or Sho, viz: Gai-Mu-Sho (foreign affairs), O-Kura-Sho (treasury), Riku-Gun-Sho (war), Kai-Gun-Sho (navy), Mom-Bu-Sho (public instruction), Kio-Bu-Sho (religion), Ko-Bu-Sho (public works), Shi-Ho-Sho (justice), Ku-Nai-Sho (Imperial household)<sup>6</sup>, three

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<sup>6</sup> The Nai-Mu-Sho was created in 1873.



large Imperial territorial offices, or Fu, located at Tokio, Kioto and Osaka, and 66 smaller ones named Ken, scattered throughout the islands of Nippon, Sikok and Kiu Siu. The Sei-In was composed of H. M. the Mikado, the Dai-jo Dai-Jin, or first officer of the superior house, the Sa Dai-Jin, or great officer of the left, the U Dai-Jin, or great officer of the right, both of whom could fill the Dai-jo Dai-Jin's place in case of need, the Sangi, high councillors, who, in addition to these duties, had the direction of the Sho, and twelve secretaries. From the Sei-In emanated all general instructions and decrees regarding the framing of the laws which were discussed, elaborated, framed and enacted by the Sa-In, and, by it, transmitted to the several Sho, Fu and Ken. The Sa-In was composed of twenty one officers, councillors, secretaries and clerks. The U-In was mainly composed of the heads (Kio) and under-heads (Ta, first under-heads, Sho, second under-heads) of the several Sho. In it matters having relation to both the interpretation and execution of the laws were discussed and the general budget of the empire was prepared. However, the existence of that house was not of long duration. Soon after the restoration it was emerged in the Sa-In.

Thus constituted, the Dai Jo Kuwan endeavored to hold within its grasp and control the several

Sho, Shi, Han, Fu and Ken, about in the same manner as the « headquarters » of an army regulates everything that is pertaining to the minor corps, divisions and brigades operating at a distance. But the hold, though strong, was not irresistible. For although in all matters pertaining to their respective circumscriptions the Han, Fu and Ken were guided by the general decrees of the Dai Jo Kuwan and the special orders of the several Sho, still, both in the interpretation and execution of the same they were left much freedom, giving rise to a great abuse of power. Each Fu was under a Chiji with four assistants, and every Ken under a Rei and four subordinates. Sagahlin and Yezo formed the Kai Taku Shi, administered by a chief commissioner, three minor officers and a large staff of clerks. This commissioner held the same relations to the Dai Jo Kuwan as the sangi.

In 1872 the Riu Kiu Isles were incorporated into the empire as a Han, and their king was assimilated to Japanese officers of the first class, but taking rank after them.

Under this system the Mikado and the three high chambers, Sei-In, Sa-In and U-In, constituted the legislative branch of the government, while the Sho, Shi, Fu and Ken were the executive, forming, besides, a faint connecting link between the Emperor, the Dai Jo Kuwan and the people.

Theoretically this mechanism was perfect. Its motive power, the Mikado, source of all benevolence and goodness, was absolute in authority and therefore thoroughly effective. Everything was done at his dictation. Through the Sei-In he enjoined the Sa-In and U-In to make, promulgate and interpret laws, and the laws were accordingly made, promulgated and interpreted; and to the Sho, Shi, Fu and Ken he intrusted their execution and they were put in force. In actual practice, however, it showed many defects. The task of the Mikado, under such an arrangement, was so heavy that, to fully accomplish it, required a strength such as was beyond human power to attain. Hence the necessity of dividing the burden, and with it the requisite power, among many; and each portion of authority thus delegated was, within the sphere in which it operated, from the offices of each departmental head to the bureau of the most humble clerk, like the source from which it flowed, necessarily absolute. To enable the delegates to perform their duties, the ways and means of the empire were divided among the several chiefs of service, and each disposed of his share as he chose. Hence great abuses and evils, which culminated in the formation of the new bureaucracy which now rules Japan.

Till the Restoration of 1867, the government of the people, in all its branches, whether admi-



nistrative, civil or criminal, had been exercised by the daimios under the high political direction of the shoguns<sup>7</sup>. If they had nothing else to guide them in the performance of their task, these lords at least had their karos who, being born and having been raised in the region, from parents who had always been there, had a special knowledge of its circumstances and of its people. There were few written laws, but merely customs, by a mere reference to which all differences among individuals were settled, and it was very seldom that the contending parties had to go before the authorities for their adjustment. The task of the daimios, ministers, or karos, was therefore a very easy one. Still, as they were known to possess the authority of their masters and to be mere servants, unlike the Emperor, who was held in sacred reverence, or the shogun and the daimio, who occupied in the minds of the people a place to which no one else below them could approach, so long as the karo's administration was wise, benevolent and successful, they enjoyed

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<sup>7</sup> The Daimio System was not Iyeyasu's conception. Its first introduction in Japan was far anterior to his time, having been decided upon after Udaisho Yoritomo was appointed to be Nihon-Sotsui-hashi, or Commander-in-Chief (1192 A.D.). « By this institution, » — we read in the Sinto books — « which had been decided upon, in secret, by the Divines (taken here in the sense of *Divus*) who kept watch over the security of the land, a complete guard was established over the whole empire which was thus made as strong as a rock. »

general esteem, but if it ever became oppressive they were called to severe account. If they did not reform or amend, the people would murmur, and if no redress came, unless a ronin, sacrificing himself to the public good, should, through his sword, deliver the country of the tyrant, the people would revolt, not against the daimio, but against his servant. As a rule, when it came to that, either the karos would commit *harakiri* or else, the daimio, like a good father, would tender his dissatisfied vassals relief by removing the obnoxious ministers. Practically, the people felt no other authority than that of the daimio. Retired in his Kyoto palace, the Mikado was a mysterious being whom no one could see or approach, save his wife, his concubines and the kuges. His oracles may have been ever so wrong, but it was only their interpretation that could be found fault with<sup>8</sup>, and although the shogun, practically<sup>9</sup>, was to the daimios what the daimios were to their karos, and ruled over the whole empire, yet as he never came in contact with the population, his fair name, in spite of the faults by which his administration in many cases was marked, was never assailed. It is true, the rule

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<sup>8</sup> Iyeyasu, in his legacy, Cap. XCI, says: . . . when bunishments and executions abound in the empire, it may be known that the shogun is without the virtue of benevolence, and degenerate. Such crises shou'd induce, etc., etc.

<sup>9</sup> Theoretically he was to them, *Primus inter pares*.



of his bureaucracy was strict, but it was strictness coupled with benevolence. And Iyeyasu, its founder, took special care to warn his descendants that the one could not exist without the other. Hence the tempering role which the sword was called upon to play in this strange fabric <sup>10</sup>. Hence also the freedom of speech united to perfect urbanity, uniformity of temper and amenity of expression between persons of the highest classes and those of the lowest among themselves, which to us seems so democratic, and, as such, almost an inexplicable anomaly, but which in fact was but a necessity of the system. Again, the rule was so elastic that except in the most serious cases it was not necessarily applied with strictness; — a state of affairs which has now ceased to exist. When in 1867 Iyeyasu's system was done away with, the executive powers which both the shogun and the daimios had held were allotted to the Sei-In, Sa-In, Sho and Shi, but none of the special facilities both to legislate and to govern, which their predecessors had, were transmitted. If all the prerogatives and duties of the karos were not transferred to the Sho, Shi, Fu and Ken, at least their practical functions were, though without their responsibility. Both the practice of roninism, which in the days of old was surrounded by a religious veneration,

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<sup>10</sup> See note 9, chap. III.

and, as we have seen, almost consecrated by law, and the practice of local riots, which had always been looked upon by the authorities with paternal indulgence, were declared infamous. It is true the right of appeal to the Saibansho by process of law and to the government by petition were spoken of. But as the means of redress, which both procedures were said to afford, were slow, expensive, and often found inoperative, they were not extensively resorted to by the people. Thus it happened that, on one side, the officers in the Dai Jo Kuwan to whom the legislative duties had been intrusted, being few in number and necessarily unacquainted with the general circumstances of the empire, the laws which they enacted were often unfit for national purposes ; while on the other side, the Sho, Shi, Fu and Ken officials enjoyed executive powers without responsibilities, so that the people who were left between them without sufficient means of redress commenced to suffer from what, to their vision, seemed to be hopeless oppression. Of whom could they complain and from whom could they seek redress, if they could not touch the chief of the state ; — since to him alone, by the confession of all, the wrong complained of could be traced ? Now without control, or, what is the same thing, without any check or effective resistance to misrule, a government has no strength.

It is weakened, in advance, by the very weight of the responsibility that rests upon it. Had the political machine of Iyeyasu possessed such characteristics, instead of lasting nearly three hundred years, it would not have stood a single decade.

A nation in modern times is nothing except through labor and wealth; labor and wealth depend upon security, and security cannot exist outside of good order guaranteed by an enlightened legislation and equitable execution of the laws. There cannot be wisdom in the one and justice in the other without restraint and publicity in the administration of affairs, which are incompatible with uncontrolled authority. A government that is uncontrolled is absolute and despotic; and a government that is absolute in theory is powerless in practice. It is wanting in the resources which a regular system of restraint affords to a government which is acting in concert with the people. Look at England, France, Germany, Austria, Russia, the United States, Turkey, China and others, and you will see that the power of the sovereign, like the wealth of the people, is in direct ratio with the control under which the acts of the government are kept <sup>11</sup>.

It was then that men, who doubtless were well meaning but who evidently were mistaken, being

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<sup>11</sup> Edouard de Laboulaye.

fascinated with the idea that the institutions of the Western world possibly constitute a panacea against political disaster, commenced to advocate the adoption in Japan of some of the institutions of the United States, while others suggested those of the British empire. It was then, also, that the Dai Jo Kuwan, probably alarmed by their clamor, decided upon the reforms that were made in 1875. On the 14th April of that year, the Mikado decreed the establishment of three new Imperial boards or houses: first, the Genro-In<sup>12</sup>, second, the Dai Shin-In<sup>13</sup> and third, the Chi-ho-Kwan-Kuaigi<sup>14</sup>, with sittings at Tokio; and also the suppression of the Sa-In and U-In. The work that till then had been performed by the two latter, was dealt out between those recently created and the Sei-In. For the purpose of giving the Sei-In a name better indicative of the duties that were said to be likely to devolve upon it hereafter, it was called the Nai-Kaku<sup>15</sup>. In addition to these changes, Mr. Okuma, the Okura Kio — Chief of the Department of Finance, — improving his opportunities, on the 22nd of December of the same year, introduced a reform

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<sup>12</sup> *Gen* means root and *ro* old; and the two taken together mean old men. *In* means house; so that *Genro In* means old men's house; and inasmuch as age is supposed to give experience and experience wisdom, wise men's house.

<sup>13</sup> Great examining house.

<sup>14</sup> Local officers deliberative assembly.

<sup>15</sup> Private chamber.



relating to the special branch of the service he directed, which in importance was not inferior to those that have just been enumerated <sup>16</sup>.

I will now proceed to explain separately the character and scope of each of these innovations.

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<sup>16</sup> NOTIFICATION No 58.

An edict having been made in the terms of the annexed Imperial Decree, I hereby make this known.

( Signed )

SANJÔ SANEYOSHI,  
*Prime Minister.*

April 14th, 1875.

( COPY OF THE IMPERIAL DECREE. )

At the time of Our a-cension of the Throne, when We became the Head of affairs, We summoned together the whole of Our <sup>ancestors</sup> servants, and on five several points took oath before Heaven :—We determined the welfare of the country, and sought after the means whereby to ensure the peace and tranquillity of the people. By the favor of the spirits of Our servants, We have happily attained the slight degree of tranquillity of the present day. But, upon consideration, We find that Our assumption of power dates from no far distant period, and that, as regards the pacification of the interior of Our country, there are by no means few matters that have to be set on foot, or freshly regulated. Wherefore, We, now extending the spirit of Our oath, do here found the Genro In, and thereby widen out the fountain head of the establishment of law, and do create the Dai Shin-in and thereby render firm the powers of careful judicial procedure :— We likewise call together the local officials, causing them to state the opinions of the people, plan the public welfare, and by degrees setting on foot a well founded political fabric for Our country and homes, being desirous that each and every one of you should partake of its benefits.

Do you, then, abstain from becoming habituated to olden customs through adhesion to former ideas ; and beware of paying little heed to your advancing steps, or of being slow to act. Give, then, due attention to Our words, and use your best endeavors in regard thereto !



It has been said that the Genro In was a senate in the sense attached to the word in European countries ; but it was in fact no more so than the Chi-ho-Kwan-Kuaigi was a House of Commons. The truth of the case was this : Until 1875, when the several reforms were made, the Dai Jo Kuwan, as we have seen, had been obliged to act, with regard to legislation, with very little light before them. It was to make their way clearer that His Majesty decreed the two houses just named. The Chi-ho-Kwan-Kuaigi, being composed of the chief officers of the Fu and Ken, was supposed to be best qualified to supply the supreme government with considerable information concerning the people throughout the empire and their wants ; and, in order that this should be done in the most practical form, the chamber was called upon to discuss measures affecting the interest of the different Ken at the pleasure of His Majesty. In their debates upon the subjects they were authorized to fearlessly indicate the public mind and also give expression to the voice of the populace, in the very presence of the Throne. It was hoped that, through this assembly, the Nai-Kaku would arrive at a better understanding of *what should be done*, while through the other, the Genro In, they might get at a clearer conception of *how the same could be done*. Whether, in these aims, success could be assured, no one was

bold enough to promise; but what was self-evident was that far better opportunities were afforded than had ever been enjoyed before. For the Genro In and the Chi-ho-Kwan-Kuaigi instead of being composed, as the former houses were, each in its days, of five or six men, cognizant at the utmost of the circumstances of only a few of the provinces, were to muster large assemblages capable of giving the government, in a variety of forms, good information as to the requirements of every part of the empire.

Those eligible to the Genro In were, first, the kuwazoku (nobles); second, men upon whom the rank of «so-nin» had been conferred as a reward for conspicuous services rendered to the country; third, such officers as had distinguished themselves in the various branches of the administration, and fourth, men from all classes, who were eminent in politics (Art. 3 of the rules). Foreigners were to be appointed to it as advisers, whenever, by their additional efforts, force and quickness in its deliberations could be secured. It was proposed to send to it, for discussion and preparation, most of the great government schemes or important measures requiring legislation, and also to refer to it the petitions of the people upon all subjects. Although in the rules made by His Excellency Sanjo Saneyoshi, the Dai-jo Dai-Jin, for the regulation of the Genro In, it

was said that new laws were to be made by it and old ones amended after due deliberation, it was never intended that it should be a legislative body in the true sense of the word (See Art. 1 of the rules). For we find, on reference, that before a new law could be enacted and an old one repealed, the sanction of the Mikado, — that is, the Nai-Kaku, — was required. It was only in certain matters that the board was allowed to render decisions. In general, it was not only debarred from deciding, but was forbidden to engage in any discussion whatever except by special order from the Nai-Kaku. It is true that the independence of its deliberations within that restricted sphere, was to be respected. Neither the Dai-Jin nor the sangi had the right to interfere with its proceedings except by way of furnishing information (Arts. 8 and 9 of the rules); and they were expected to do this effectively by answering all calls to come and take an active part in consultations (Art. 10 of the rules). But all laws thus freely elaborated in this board, were at the final disposition of the Nai-Kaku (Art. 7 of the rules).

Thus we see, from the nature of the services it was expected to render that the Genro In was brought down to a level with committees in the legislative assemblies of Europe and America; and in that manner it became in fact what those

who first proposed its establishment wished it to be, a mere bureau for the convenience of the Nai-Kaku. But, although a mere bureau, certain circumstances connected with its creation seemed to indicate that it was the intention of the government to raise it subsequently to a much higher status. One of the most universally esteemed and admired minds in Japon, in fact that prominent statesman who, both in the field of diplomacy abroad and executive duties at home, had reflected the greatest credit upon the state, Soyeshima Taneomi, was named in connection with the position of president; and ultimately it was given to one of the princes of the blood, an heir to the Throne, His Imperial Highness Arisugawa-no-Miya. The rules of the Genro In, although restrictive, were so worded that to convert it into a thoroughly legislative assembly, only one of the articles had to be changed; this was the seventh, whereby the power of the Mikado regarding the enactment of laws was made exclusive and absolute. If the phraseology in this instance had been so modified that the right of the Sovereign, with reference to this important matter, should be understood as merely conditional and relative, the transformation would have been accomplished. I am aware that this was really the key to the whole difficulty. But what gave unusual weight to the seemingly unimportant circumstance



was that the whole spirit and even the very language of the Mikado's proclamations of both April 14th, 1875, calling the assembly into existence, and of June 14th, following, showed that this conversion was already in contemplation. Still, no precise indication as to when this might be done was given in them; and that is exactly what those who had been most active in calling for the creation of a representative government objected to most strongly. If, they would say, the Genro In was not to be intrusted with the enactment of the laws, why had the members of the Nai-Kaku been appointed to the task, when it was their inability which had necessitated the creation of the Genro In!

Moreover, some of those whom it would have been most desirable to enrol in the newly established house declined to accept appointment on the ground that they had once been members of the Sei-In and would not accept a seat in an assembly without power; especially as they could not thus act without falling down to a level with the servants of those whose equals they knew themselves to be. I may freely say, with all friends of the country, that it will ever be a cause of regret that so many eminent and worthy men, powerful by their intellect and by their influence

over the old clans, should have felt bound to bring such arguments forward <sup>17</sup>.

A fair publicity was given to the proceedings of the Chi-ho-Kwan-Kuaigi; and the record,

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<sup>17</sup> REGULATIONS FOR THE GENRO IN.

I.—The Genro In consists of law-makers, and it is there where new laws are made and old ones are amended after due discussion.

II.—Members will be appointed from the following grades :

III.—1, Kuwazoku ; 2, those who have been promoted to the rank of sōnin ; 3, those who have served their country with credit ; and 4, those who are eminent in politics.

IV.—Matters for discussion will be put forward by the Nai-Kaku on the Mikado's orders.

V.—Matters for debate will be of two kinds. One of these be discussed and decided on by the members ; the other will be only debated by them at the discretion of the Nai-Kaku.

VI.—When a matter is too important to be delayed for discussion in the Genro In, it will be discussed there after its notification by the Nai-Kaku.

VII.—The promulgation of a new law or the abolition of an old one will be submitted to the Mikado. After it has been discussed by the Nai-Kaku, it will be again debated by the members of the Genro In.

VIII.—The sangi and chiefs of Sho, Shi and the executive officers of the law may be present in the Genro In during the discussion of matters concerning their offices.

IX.—The Dai-Jin, sangi and chiefs of Sho and Shi may be present at the Genro In and can express their opinions there. But they will have no vote in the assembly.

X.—The members of the Genro In will call, if necessary, upon the Dai-Jin, sangi, and chiefs of Sho and Shi to attend there.

XI.—The Genro In will deal only with matters concerning the law.

XII.—The opening and closing of the sessions of the Genro In will be by the Mikado's order.

though in a somewhat restricted form, proved most interesting and beneficial. Although the members of this assembly were not as unreserved, in the expression of their views, as they would have been had they met as delegates of the people instead of, as they happened to be, servants of the government, still they evinced a very commendable earnestness, and even, in some cases, thorough independence of sentiment. It had entered the plan of those who first conceived the formation of the Genro In that all its proceedings be likewise made public, but the ultimate decision was to keep them secret. Thus the board lost much of the importance which as a political body it would otherwise have possessed. The absence of publicity left it powerless to confront any preconcerted action, on the part of the Nai-Kaku, which it might have thought proper to oppose; for the deliberations of both houses being undivulged, a sure loophole was left to the Nai-Kaku in the impossibility of any one's determining with certainty upon whom to fix the responsibility for rejecting suggestions made by the Chi-ho-Kwan-Kuaigi in cases where public sagacity would not have been slow to condemn such action. This would not have been possible if the acts of the Genro In had been open to popular view, or if at least a record of them had been given to the people. For it is not easily to be conceived that



men of such enviable position and standing as the members of the Nai-Kaku, however tempting the object in consideration might have been, would have risked their good name and reputation with the whole nation by a recklessness which the notoriety given to their decisions, as compared with the counsels tendered them by the Genro In, could not have failed to expose. In fact, with the prime condition of publicity, the institution of the Genro In would constitute for the nation at large a guarantee, established upon a broad base, that its interests would not be disregarded by the Dai Jo Kuwan; while without that condition, it merely occupies the narrow platform delineated in the rules prescribing its organization and working;—a platform which, if compared with what existed before the edict of April 14th, 1875, was enacted, undoubtedly reveals a progress, but certainly not one that could be said to have reached the limits of improvement of which the past state of affairs was susceptible.

The same mystery that attends the operations of the Genro In and Chi-ho-Kwan-Kuaigi surrounds most of those of the Dai Shin In. This is to be regretted. By the terms of the Imperial proclamation of April 14th, 1875, the object of that office was to render firm the powers of judicial procedure. But no judicial powers can be



firm unless they rest upon public confidence and respect, and this can not be, so long as the laws to be applied are made as they now are and the operations of courts remain closed to public scrutiny. Thus is explained how it happens that, after the appearance in public print of the decree indicating a firm resolution on the part of the government to ultimately proscribe the practice of torture, many persons cling to the idea that it is still in general practice. I am aware that there is a disposition to change the whole system. But then, if this is truly the case, why not make the alteration at once? Either the government wish to organize the courts of law on a Western plan—and this is what the Imperial decree seems to point to—or else they are adverse to such a reform. If the negative, the question occurs, why was the edict issued at all? If the affirmative, they ought to know that the longer the old system continues, of fabrication of laws by the gross, without reference to the desires and aspirations of the people, and the administration in secret by incompetent persons who sit at the pleasure of the Nai-Kaku and are considered as officers of their ranks, detailed for the purpose of applying the law more according to the lights of their superiors than their own, the farther will Japan remain from the object sought after by H. M. the Mikado.

We will now consider Mr. Okuma's financial reforms. These had for their object the termination, or rather the palliation, as far as possible, of the <sup>views</sup> views of the budget system that had been in operation since the restoration of 1867. According to Mr. Okuma's new plan, every chief of Sho, instead of being allowed a lump sum with which to conduct his department as he pleased, was to have a credit opened to him at the beginning of the fiscal year which could not be used otherwise than in the way specified. A sum applied to the maintenance of one branch of the service would cease to be arbitrarily transferred to another without the permission of the Nai-Kaku. If the requirements of one bureau or department should ever happen to fall short of the sum allowed to it in the budget, then the balance would remain unexpended in the public treasury; but if the credit opened to it should prove insufficient, then provision would be made for such an issue by a requisition for a further supply upon the Nai-Kaku, which would either grant or deny it as would seem most expedient to them after a reference or not to the Genro In, at their discretion. To give an idea of the importance of the measure, I will suppose an instance by which the working of the new system may be estimated. Let us assume that a credit of ten millions of yen had been opened to the

War Office for the pay and maintenance of troops, and a further credit of two millions to buy forage. There is no fear of a war and the government multiplies the leaves of absence, giving back to industry and agriculture a number of hands, so that the support of the force requires but eight millions of yen ; then the payment of the two millions in excess is suspended. But suppose the year should be rainy and the price of forage required to be half a million in excess of the credit allowed under this head ; then a supplementary credit of that amount is allowed. Finally, suppose that a typhoon had destroyed the jetties at both Kobe and Yokohama ; then a supplementary credit of one million and a half is granted to the Public Works Department to repair these unforeseen disasters. Nothing has been changed in the general budget of the state. The additional two millions required have been furnished by drawing from the treasury the sum of credit suspended. The Finance Department has not been troubled with the task of finding new means of supplying money, and yet it has admirably met all wants. But this would not have been possible under the old system ; for what would have been saved under one head at the War Department would have been spent under another in the same Department, if not wantonly, at least in things for which there might not have been immediate



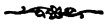
necessity; and thus the state would have been compelled to meet the indispensable requirements of the Public Works Department by spending a million and a half more than it would have otherwise done.

That the rules devised by Mr. Okuma, if firmly adhered to, were sure to confer the greatest good on the country, no one was inclined to dispute. Whether the minister himself had confidence that they would be complied with, I am not quite so certain. The warning which he gave to the prime minister in transmitting his first estimate after their issue, against allowing any one to transgress them, would almost indicate that he entertained some doubts about it. Upon that occasion he wrote to Mr. Sanjo: « It is my opinion that any fixed system of finance is difficult to establish and easy to be destroyed; that it is difficult to preserve pure in its springs, and liable to be polluted in its course. Estimates are necessary in order to prevent irregular expenditure, and to strengthen habits of economy. If this object is not attended to and this evil repressed, the projects of officials will be allowed free scope, their minds will become relaxed, requests will be acceded to which ought not to be granted, and there will be an increase of expenditure which ought to have been curtailed. If this evil overflowing from above should find its



way below, and the amount fixed here should be exceeded, these tables would be no better than books on a shelf, and in the end no good result would be attained by them. My apprehensions are no doubt excessive, but I have felt bound to state my honest opinion ; » etc., etc.

As requested, the necessary decree calling upon all the In, Sho, Shi, Fu and Ken to conform in every way to the provisions of the law embodying Mr. Okuma's new finance regulations was duly issued. But what the prime minister failed to do was to provide means by which Mr. Okuma's rules could have been made thoroughly operative. For this the system we have just described was more to be blamed than the high minister of state.





### CHAPTER III.

#### THE POLITICIANS' VIEWS OF THE LATE REFORMS.

Japanese politicians were not slow in detecting the defects by which the governmental re-organization of 1875 was still characterized. Among those that rallied against it with most spirit and force were men of great eminence, Messrs. Shimadzu Saburo, late Sa Dai-Jin, Soyeshima Taneomi, of whom I have spoken in the preceding chapter, Itagaki who had been a sangi, and Kido, H. M. privy councillor. In the opinion of Mr. Shimadzu the most objectionable feature of the new fabric was that not only the Dai-Jin, but, in addition, the chiefs of the In, Sho, Shi, Fu and Ken had no responsibilities, and that if any thing unfortunate happened, the Mikado alone must be censured. The construction placed upon the other criticisms which Mr. Shimadzu made, that he disapproved the reforms of 1875 because they indicated a disposition on the part of the government to ultimately mould the Japanese fabric upon that of England, is erroneous. Although in many cases he opposed the introduction by authority of changes of foreign growth, which had been unfortunate and although he openly

deplored what he considered the shallowness of some of the Mikado's most trusted advisers, who imagined that an imitation of the mere forms of western nations is an evidence of advancement. Mr. Shimadzu united with Mr. Itagaki in claiming that the Rippo (law makers) should be separated from the Gosei (executive officers). To this effect both gentlemen suggested that the Nai-Kaku should consist of the Dai-Jin and three or four sangi who should assist the Mikado in conducting the government of the whole country and issue their orders to every In, Sho, and Shi; and that the chiefs of departments be relieved of their legislative labors and have their attention confined to their executive duties. As it was, said Mr. Itagaki, the sangi were expected to attend to both the Dai Jo Kuwan and their Sho, In or Shi, and one of two things had to be anticipated: either they would faithfully attend to the first, as sangi, in which case they must neglect the second, as chiefs of Departments, or they would try to discharge their double obligations, when neither the one nor the other would be done well. Hence disorder and the decline of the government.

Mr. Kido believed that although, in all constitutional changes the spirit of the Imperial oath of 1868 must be the guide, still a mechanical adherence to the five clauses thereof would be unwise, for this would lead to the adoption of a



form of government such as only the most advanced nations of the globe have; and inasmuch as, in the abstract, reforms should be devised to suit the circumstances of nations, and those of Japan did not admit of her being placed as yet on a par with those countries, upon this principle none of their fabrics would answer her present purpose. In fact, he was adverse to the erection, at the time, of any kind of permanent political edifice, as it might prove repugnant to the temperament of the people, and, in such a case, would have to be ultimately pulled down; the consequence being a new revolution carrying in its trail new inconveniences and sufferings to the people. But for all this he strongly disapproved of any thing that might look like a return to the shogunate usurpation, and he never lost an opportunity to condemn those who, instead of subordinating their efforts to an harmonious central action in support of the principles of the Restoration, were aiming at a monopoly of the general functions of the government, as the best means of forwarding their personal views, to the detriment of a *statu quo*, which he thought should be maintained till the people, being educated to political life, could decide themselves upon a permanent form of government. Before calling on the people to so weigh in the political scale he wished them to be thoroughly educated,

and to this effect he advised the Dai Jo Kuwan to devise and adopt temporary measures calculated to finally lead to constitutional government. Thus, in their spirit the reforms of 1875 met with his approval; although, it is said that he afterwards expressed much dissatisfaction at what he called the bad faith of the government in carrying them out. But for this, perhaps, Mr. Kido was more to blame than those whom he so severely condemned. Though his memorials are complete in their exposition of sound general principles, they exhibit a surprising absence of all constructive thought, and thus is explained how, with so much influence both at court and with the people, he failed to obtain, with his colleagues, though holding an executive position in the government, the influence which, with a more practical turn of mind, he could not have failed to exercise<sup>1</sup>.

I now come to Mr. Soyeshima. As far back as January 1874, this eminent statesman had

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<sup>1</sup> His wish, says his biographer, was gradually to form a constitutional form of government, and he used to talk thus :—

The present government was firmly established by His Majesty's benevolence. If the people lose confidence in the government through misconduct, and they should come to wish for a return to the former system of government, His Majesty would be grieved. The ministry ought to promote the general welfare of the country and people. The administration of the provincial governments should not be considered as of no consequence. Now the present monarchical form of government is nearly completed. However, it produces no great benefit to the people throughout the

forwarded a memorial to the Sa-In upon the political condition of his country. At one time it was thought that his recommendations had been received with marked favor by the government<sup>2</sup>.

country, who would be happier under the former system than the present. What is the reason? During the times of the daimios each one of them desired to enrich his own dominions and to increase their productions. Now the central government is not so anxious to advance the well-being of the whole empire as the daimios were to bring prosperity to their own dominions. So the people become more and more in want of money and find increased difficulty in maintaining themselves. Such is the condition prevailing throughout every ken. The general state of Japan may be compared to the human body. Thus, the provincial kens are the limbs; the central government is the head; and the blood circulates through the whole body in the form of money. During some years past the government has collected money and rice from kens, which they have not allowed to be applied to the wants of the people under their jurisdiction, who become monthly and daily poorer, just the same as if all the blood in the body were drawn to the head, and the limbs could not work. While this is so no progress can be made in the interior, and the people cannot increase their wealth. In Europe and America there is no country where a representative assembly is not established. Our countrymen have of late desired to have such an assembly. But if we can find no good representatives, the measure will be injurious to us. Now it will be well for our people to establish, at first, provincial meetings in each ken, which should be merged into a representative assembly in the future.

<sup>2</sup> The following reply was made to Mr. Soyeshima's memorial:

With respect to the memorial by Soyeshima Taneomi, a samurai of the Saga ken, and seven others, upon the subject of the establishment of a council-chamber, the principle is an excellent one, and this college (the Sa-In) having received sanction to a similar proposal already made by itself, has draughted a set of regulations. The suggestion therefore will be adopted. At the same time, in view of the instructions issued last year to the fus and kens, with respect to local assemblies, and of the fact that the home office has just been constituted, we recommend that the home office should be called upon to give its opinion, and that, after the local assemblies shall have been opened, the question of a council-chamber chosen by the people, should be taken up.

(Seal of the Sa-In, 24 January 1874).



But, as it happened, they were ultimately rejected, and the reforms of 1875 were made. Mr. Soyeshima who had already resigned his position of sangî, retired from public life altogether. To Mr. Soyeshima's vision the defects of the Japanese fabric were owing to an organic vice which no slight modification could eradicate. He argued that the power was neither with the Emperor nor

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In alluding to this memorial I have mentioned Mr. Soyeshima's name only, although it was signed, as we see from the reply of the Sa-In, by seven others, because it is generally believed that the memorial was *in toto* the product of Mr. Soyeshima's pen. Hereunder are given the most important passages of this document :

Your respectful memorialists, having considered the quarters in which the power of the government lies, (we see that) it is neither with the Emperor nor with the people, but with the officials alone. Although we feel confident that the officials would not show disrespect to His Majesty, still we cannot help seeing that the honor and magnificence of the Imperial council gradually disappears. And although they have no desire to neglect the people, still there is no stability nor method in the legislation. One proclamation appears in the morning and is changed in the evening. Everything is done according to the caprice of the officials. Partiality presides in the administration of both rewards and punishments. The rights of discussion of official acts and of expression of grievances as well are denied to the people. Even children three feet high would know that tranquillity and peace could not reign in the empire under such conditions. Unless reforms are introduced the country will be ruined.

Yielding to feelings of patriotism, we have inquired into the best means of relieving the empire from this perilous position, and we have come to the conclusion that the only sure way to do it is to encourage the expression of public opinion throughout the land by the establishment of a Min Shen Gi in composed of the elect of the people who shall discuss the laws. Then, a limit being placed to the power of the officials, both governors and governed will be prosperous and happy. \* \* \* We believe that the people, whose duty it is to pay taxes to the government, should share in public affairs and have both the rights and means to approve or condemn



with the people, but with the officials alone; that the circumstances by which the sovereign was fatally kept away from the helm were so many, and, during these inter-reigns, if I can so express myself, the risks of the direction of affairs falling into unworthy hands were so great, that, in spite of all the ingenuity that might be exercised

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the government's proceedings. This, being self-evident, should be admitted without discussion. \* \* \* \* Those in the government who oppose our proposition say that, so far, our people have taken no initiative in promoting the interests of progress and that they are yet too wanting in culture and enlightenment to take part in parliamentary proceedings. We reply:— If it be so, so much the more necessary to establish the Min Shen Gi in. \* \* \* \* For the way to cause the people to progress is to first tell them what both their rights and powers are and afterwards call them to exercise them by sharing in the discussion of public affairs; and, when this has been done, they will understand the value of their rights and privileges and gradually identify themselves with the circumstances, whether favorable or adverse, of the nation and then none among them would allow himself to remain ignorant. \* \* \* \* Again the officials most unreasonably say: To establish a parliament now would be simply to assemble all the fools in the empire. Alas! How shocking their conceit! \* \* \* \* For are they not themselves one class of the people! \* \* \* \* From the uncivilized age, when the people were only fierce, turbulent and untrained to live under law, it was the duty of the government to mark the first step of civilization by compelling them to obey. But our country is no longer barbarous and its inhabitants, if anything, are obedient to excess to their rulers. Such being the case our government should take price in establishing at once a Min Shen Gi in on purpose to arouse in the people a desire to know their own minds, and to enable them to participate in the administration of public affairs. Then, the people, throughout the whole empire, shall, for the first time, be united. \* \* \* \* It is merely for the purpose of creating a community of feelings between the governors and governed so as to unite them together as one body, that the Min Shen Gi in should be established. For then, and but then only, the empire will commence to increase in strength and the government themselves will become firm. \* \* \* \* We hear the officials say: Parliaments in European countries and in

in devising expedients to guard against them, the nation was still unsafe. Hence the radical change which he proposed, involving, as it did, not less than the transfer of the power held by the <sup>Sei</sup> Sa-In (the Nai-Kaku after 1875) to the people represented by a Min Shen Gi in (people elected deliberative house) or Parliament<sup>3</sup>. So we see Mr. Soyeshima's sentiments

America have not been the results of the work of one morning or of one evening, but were brought into their present state by progressive steps by the people. Therefore these institutions could not stand before us as a model for imitation. —We reply: Parliaments are not the only result of progress. All abstract and technical sciences, and the like, have also grown out from it. The reason why these nations took so many centuries to reach their present degree of advancement is that, not having to go by, they had to labor long before they could originate them. But now we are able to profit by their example and need not go through the same ordeal of investigation. If we must wait before introducing the steam engine till we have ourselves discovered the laws of steam, or first discover the principles of electricity and then think of establishing telegraphs, we shall have to wait long we can avail ourselves of their use!

The end we had in view in the above was to show that a Min Shen Gi in must be decreed without delay, because the degree of progress attained by our people is just what it should be to justify its immediate establishment. Our object, in presenting this request, is not to create difficulties for the officials who oppose it, but to convince them that it would be wise to rouse the people to the discussion of public affairs; to acknowledge their full rights and power of doing it; to stimulate them to activity; to bring a better understanding between the governor and governed and firmly bind the Emperor to his subjects by the ties of affection, so that our empire may become prosperous, influential and strong.

<sup>3</sup> Another public man, whose views of the reforms of 1875 it would have been interesting to know, is Mr. Okubo, the present Nai-Mu-Sho-Kio. Unfortunately there are no documents open to our investigation from which, either directly or by way of inference, an idea might be formed of what those are. The first steps of this distinguished man in political life



were exactly the reverse of Mr. Kido's. Mr. Kido thought that Japan was not ready for even the merest adherence to the letter of the constitutional oath of 1868, while Mr. Soyeshima believed that the time had come when a fulfillment of its promises should be called for by the people. One held that the future of the nation would be compromised by such an adherence, while the other firmly believed that it was the only manner to ensure it.

Such were the views of the reforms of 1875, held by some of the men who, ever since the

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show that, at the time of the Restoration, he was animated by a marked liberal spirit. How his sentiments were subsequently modified as he gradually made his way to the controlling position which he finally attained in the government after the failure of the Satsuma insurrection in September last, has never been known outside of an immediate circle of friends or of governmental sphere. But it is reported that, at the time of the Osaka conference, in 1874, at which the chiefs of parties in Japan had gathered in an informal manner, he endeavored to persuade them to agree upon a compromise of some sort, and to unite their influences upon the people towards guiding the transformation his country must undergo till the people could be intrusted with its care. But having failed in this, and knowing well that, unless this national work could proceed uninterruptedly it might be given up altogether, he seems to have come to the conclusion that, in the isolation in which the government was left by the leaders of political parties, the only course for it to follow was to endeavor to anticipate, as best it may, by its own discernment, the wishes and minds of the nation, and unremittingly work in fortifying its power so that it may better perform this arduous, expensive and perilous task.

Restoration of 1868, have exercised most influence on public opinion in Japan. We shall have occasion to revert to these views in the course of this work. As to the several propositions for additional reforms intended to cover the ground still left untouched by those that had already been made, their respective value is easily determined. In most cases, had these additional reforms been adopted, it is believed that, practically, they would have proved inoperative. Not that, in themselves, they were not excellent; but the good that might have resulted from them was subservient to other conditions that had not been thought of by their advocates. Thus it was expected by Messrs. Shimadzu and Itagaki that, under their system, in case of errors by the Government, the ministers instead of the sovereign would be held responsible, and that the laws would be both better made and better executed; that, with the ken assemblies spoken of by Mr. Kido, the people would have better means than were afforded them by the Chi-ho-Kwan-Kuaigi to make their wishes known, and that the residents of the provinces far distant from the capital would not suffer, to the same extent as heretofore from centralization—that is, we should add, provided every one in the government did his duty. But, under the reverse supposition, who would have righted matters? No provision



had been made for that; and this was a fatal omission. It is likely that, later on, Mr. Itagaki perceived the mistake which he for one had made, for he, finally, became again an adherent of the Min Shen Gi in system <sup>4</sup>. This brings us to the discussion of Mr. Soyeshima's plan.

Mr. Soyeshima's argument regarding the establishment of a governing parliament in Japan, although perfectly sound in the abstract, ceases to be so when applied to the special point it pretends to prove: viz, the necessity for the transfer of authority from the Nai-Kaku to the people. It is true that the establishment of the Min Shen Gi in would have been the means of affording protection to the governed against the governor, which is not to be looked for under the present system, and if that protection were the only requirement the nation had, no better combination than that devised by Mr. Soyeshima could be found. But this is not the case. For, while it is admitted that Japan could not well remain much longer without that protection, it is

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<sup>4</sup> Mr. Itagaki had signed Mr. Soyeshima's memorial for the establishment of the Min Shen Gi in. Subsequently, apparently, he separated from Mr. Soyeshima by accepting the compromise that resulted, as we have seen, in the creation of the Genro In, the Chi-ho-Kwan-Kuaigi and the Dai Shin in, in 1875, and he again entered the government as sangi. Shortly after, however, he resigned this office and again joined the Min Shen Gi in party to which he has remained attached ever since.

also claimed that she could much less be left without a strong central power, and Mr. Soyeshima's combination could have given the former only <sup>at</sup> ~~of~~ the cost of the latter<sup>5</sup>. For the establishment of a supreme parliament would have amounted to the substitution of popular rule, which, in the sense spoken of in Chapter I, can be but a weak substitute for the present form, which, with all its faults, still fulfills this essential requisite<sup>6</sup>. And, besides, the defects of the present form are not irremediable. Even the contingencies by which the Mikado might be taken away from the helm and upon which Mr. Soyeshima insists with so much stress, do not present to my mind the serious inconveniences he attaches to them, as the sovereign's true interests are identical with those of the many intellectual and wise men who are placed by his side and who act for him. It is only in case the power of the members of the Nai-Kaku should become paralyzed, either by division in their councils, or by being overborne by a court favorite, or through the ignorance of the people who might fail to appreciate the wisdom of their rule and would rise against it, that there could be cause for apprehension. For if, there should be intrigue and internal opposition

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<sup>5</sup> See what is said of Mr. Soyeshima's plan further in Chapter IV.

<sup>6</sup> See Chapter I, pages 24 and following.

among the members, along with other bad consequences, it would be productive of worse than harm to the nation, since general and ever increasing sufferings must follow on the ascending steps of any ambitious man, who, being at the same time both clever and unscrupulous, should succeed in monopolizing the Imperial confidence and power. For, till he be unmasked by his colleagues, there would be true danger to the state. Lastly if, for instance, the Imperial councils were united, and the best of rulers at the helm, in times like those which Japan is now passing through, when many reforms are often necessarily carried out in an abrupt manner, and that, however just and sound, tell so heavily upon the people, and thus, being misunderstood, are apt to excite their impatience and even, as we have seen last year, their wild anger and resistance, where would be the safety valve in the present mechanism through which this pressure from below tending to disturb the very foundations of the throne, could be allowed to expand and vanish? Who, among these 19,578 officials that surround the Emperor<sup>7</sup>, would bring back

<sup>7</sup> According to the O-Kura-Sho's returns, in 1874, there were in Japan, government officers 19,578; priests of all denominations 5,470; soldiers 27,248; professors 8,235; physicians 32,913; farmers and fishermen 8,143,523; traders, mechanics etc. 533,913; merchants 827,170; miscellaneous occupations 1,047,216; servants 274,413; unoccupied 5,972,021; total 16,891,700. Total population comprising men, women and children 33,300,600.



peace to the land ? The ministers of state ? But, under our supposition, their former popularity and influence would have already vanished. The former daimios ? But however effective their intervention may have once been there is no guarantee that it would be so again. To-day all that is left of these beloved masters in the hearts of their servants is a mere remembrance ; and that will soon pass away, now that those whose office had inspired it, in position and status, are brought to nought. The Mikado ? but even his voice may be lost in this general confusion. Force then will accomplish the work. Yes, force still remains. But force itself has its limits of action. And if it is to be resorted to at all times, what will soon be to the people a Heavenly Emperor, sitting on a throne composed of the ruins of so many homes, cemented with so much blood ? Would this Emperor, in all his grandeur and power, be still the Mikado of the past ? Would the prestige of his name have still the same power and virtue ? The Mikado ! marvellous password indeed, hearing which heretofore all would make way with superstitious reverence ! Not only the multitude, but the most powerful in the land. The Mikado, at whose commands, the shogun, in 1867, disbanding his army, surrendering his navy, humbly laying down his scepter of despotism at the foot of the throne,



retired into solitude and remained there a most faithful servant. The Mikado, by whose order the daimios, in a day, surrendered their crowns, their swords, their mines of wealth; and who, yesterday, at another sign of the master, gave almost all they had left, and would give the rest to-morrow. The Mikado, for the sake of whom this vast assemblage of 33,000,000 ever loyal subjects are trying hard to do away with, one after the other, all they cherished most in the past, ancient customs, manners, superstitions and the rest! Of this Mikado of the past, his prestige, his office, under such a supposition, there would be nothing left. Do not say that the conjecture is preposterous. For, heinous as it may seem, the signs of the times are here to suggest it and give warning that, by two decades, unless matters are changed, the forces that are now at work undermining in the dark the Imperial fabric of Japan will have finished their task, and when the fabric has come down and nothing is left of it, what will the people of the country do? Henceforth left without conservative elements or regulative force, having only their own caprice and fancy, they will rapidly descend, finally reaching the edge of a precipice to which all peoples that have been allowed to take hold of the reins of government before they had been educated for it, have come, and into which they are fated finally to

fall, meeting at last with an untimely and fatal end.

Such are the dangers ahead. In constitutional countries, in which, as in Japan, the strength of the state depends so much upon the prestige of the sovereign and the dignity of his office, similar dangers have been averted by openly relieving the chief of the fabric from all executive responsibilities and transferring the same to the several individuals who, as ministers of state, compose the cabinet, while the control of their acts is vested in two legislative assemblies. We all remember the memorable declaration made by a French Premier, in answer to intimations, by a member of a parliament, implicating the King. « Le Roi—said the faithful servant—«règne, mais il ne gouverne pas ! » The King reigns, but he does not govern. In these few words he had given a perfect definition of constitutional governments. Such a loyal declaration, however, were it to fall to-day from the lips of one of His Majesty the Mikado's servants, would sound most strange. For, if the shogunate was overthrown, it was precisely because of its encroachments upon the supreme rights of the Mikado ; and, therefore, after 1871, it was proclaimed that henceforward in all matters of state the Mikado would have exclusive direction and control. However, as we have shown, it never was so in actual practice <sup>8</sup> ;

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<sup>8</sup> Pages 37 and 38.

and, we may add, that it never was intended that it should be so either by those who, in the remotest antiquity, laid down the base of the Imperial system, or brought about the successive modifications which, as dictated by the requirements of the times, it underwent afterwards. Both founders and reformers remained firm in the belief that the Mikados should not exercise the supreme power they had been vested with, *directly*, but that they should do so *indirectly* and by delegation; this being the only artifice known through which they could keep together the heterogeneous elements of which their inheritance is formed. This theory, considered in the abstract and as a theory, has met with the approval of all modern writers of whose conceptions of constitutional governments, as we have seen, it forms indeed the base. And if the administration of the bureaucracy that grew out of the reforms of 1871, as compared to that of the best days of the shogunate, has been found less efficient, it is solely owing to the fact that the new bureaucracy has been inconsistent in availing itself of the value of these sound principles of government. For, practically, it has adhered to the principles of delegated power, while loudly and incessantly proclaiming that it was <sup>not</sup> guided by them. In compliance with old usages, the Mikado was satisfied to reign; but, with the sole view of for-



tifying their positions, the new leaders insisted upon its being generally believed that he was governing; and, by this, they caused most serious injury not only to him, but to the people also. On one side they made the Emperor responsible for acts in which he had not participated, and, on the other, they placed the people under a rule against whose possible abuses there was no means of redress.

The shogun's bureaucracy had never done that. For not only, as we have seen, had it carefully shielded the Mikado<sup>9</sup> from any possible suspicion that he had participated in its misdeeds, but, besides, it had always held itself directly accountable to the people for any evils that resulted from its administration. True enough, the means of redress which existed were indirect and barbarous; but for all that they were efficacious.

Not only the people<sup>10</sup>, as we have seen<sup>11</sup>, but

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<sup>9</sup> See page 39, note 8.

<sup>10</sup> It has been said of old :

Although advised on all sides to put to death, put not to death : but when all the people of the country advise capital punishment inflict it only after investigation into the case in question.

Though advised on all sides to confer reward, confer no reward ; but when all the people of the country advise the bestowal of reward, concede only after re-iterated inquiry into the merits of the case in question. The art of governing a country consists in the manifestation of due deference on the part of the sovereign towards his vassals. *Know that, if you turn your back upon this, you will be assassinated and the empire will be lost.* (See *The Legacy of Iyeyasu*, chapt. XXIII.)

<sup>11</sup> See pages 39 and 40.



also the daimios held the shogun's bureaucracy in check under ordinary circumstances by the prestige of their position and by their influence, and by force of arms in extreme cases. The powerful armaments which they kept had scarcely any other object; and the propriety of their foresight in thus exhibiting their independence from the Mikado's delegate was never disputed. Not that under the shogun, practically, the participation of the Mikado in the government was less active than it is to-day; but because the fact that it was merely general and superficial was admitted; and thus the plea that these means of precaution were taken not against the Mikado but against any wicked servants of his that might happen to abuse his confidence and delegated power was allowable; while, to day, with the theory of direct Imperial action, the plea would be indignantly rejected<sup>12</sup>. If there had been any doubts as to whether, under circumstances of extreme gravity, this plea would be still admitted, the fall of Yeto Shimpei's head<sup>13</sup> under the ax of an Imperial executioner, in 1874, and the degradation of Saigo<sup>14</sup> three years later should

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<sup>12</sup> See pages 37 and 38.

<sup>13</sup> The leader of the Saga insurrection which was suppressed by Mr. Okubo, the present Minister of the Home Department.

<sup>14</sup> The leader of the Satsuma insurrection which, after six months duration, came to an end with the fall of its chiefs and most powerful supporters in a last battle fought at Kagosima, (September 1877).

have sufficed to set them at rest ; and so I believe they are. Roninism and revolt have now ceased to be, for any of His Majesty's loyal subjects, available means of national redress against abuses of power by the Mikado's servants. Persons may ever be ready to lose what is dearest to them, friends, life and property, in support of a good cause, but it will never appear to them that a cause is good when its active support entails the loss of honor.

Thus were removed from the Japanese fabric two of the most cruel and barbarous political expedients that had ever been devised by man for the redress of grievances. But, barbarous as they were, they occupied in the system a most important place. It was not enough to have suppressed them ; a substitute for them should have been found. But this was not done, and, as might have been expected, the governmental machinery has never worked smoothly since.



## CHAPTER IV.

### THE RESULTS OF ELEVEN YEARS OF ABSOLUTE AND UNCONTROLLED GOVERNMENT.

Those who had expected that the transition from feudalism to an improved condition of political existence would be effected as surely and readily in Japan after 1867 as was done in England during the 17th century, were fated to disappointment. What made the task of social transformation so easy in England was that, long before the time came to effect it, the nation had already outgrown those conditions on which the system of the past was based, and the expansion of the British mind had indicated the manner in which the needed changes must be made. With Japan it was different. Doubtless before the Restoration, a large proportion of the best men in the country were dissatisfied with the shogun's usurpation ; but those who were opposed to feudalism were very few. Had Japan been allowed to remain secluded from the rest of the world, this system, probably, would have long survived the Restoration of 1867.

What chiefly led to the abolition of feudalism was the arrival of foreigners in the country<sup>1</sup>. It suddenly placed the empire under circumstances to which that institution was antagonistic, so that either foreigners had to be expelled, or the political organisation of the land changed. Inasmuch as the former could not be done the latter was decided upon. The authors of the Restoration of 1867 felt that, if the daimios were continued in their territorial independence, the local conflicts between them and outside nations could not be prevented and the dismemberment of the empire must necessarily follow. To their vision nothing but a compact union of the forces of the nation under one head could afford protection against the impending evil. But how this unification could best be brought about, no one had a clear conception. For the nation had been made to realize the necessity for the change so suddenly that but few ~~had~~ had time, to give the subject thought. Hence all the hesitations, all the contradictions, all the errors, by which the nation's first steps, after 1867, were characterized. But, let us hasten to say, how much soever to be regretted these errors are, they were unavoidable.

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Kido almost admits this in a memorial presented to the Emperor in 1873. He says: « The truth is there was no change made which had not become unavoidable, chiefly owing to the internal condition of the country, but also, though in a less degree, to our relations with foreign powers. »



For the laws that regulate human labors, whether applying to individuals or to nations, are identical. We never have a perfect understanding of what we wish to do till the time comes when we actually do it. All the mysterious operations that precede in us the moment when we successfully accomplish anything, result in awkward essays, if not entire failures. How this happens we are unable to say, for we have no conception of the mechanism by which it is done and which, to all appearances, performs its functions in us without our reflective co-operation. The greatest man, when he thinks, when he writes, when he performs any act whatever, has no more knowledge of how these things are done than the child, three years old, when he tries to express his first impressions. I do not mean to say that the results we are aiming at are born in us. At least they are no more so than seed in the plant, from which the latter grows. But our deeds develop in us under certain circumstances, if I can so express myself, exactly as the plant is evolved from the seed. Why despotism is generally a necessary condition of existence, for societies at their origin, is that the circumstances under which they may advance best are seldom created by the multitude.

Thus, the farther back we go into the primitive world the more distinctly appear before us the

images of sages, of initiators, leaders, prophets, often nameless to whom the laws, the usages, the institutions of both the religions and the civil order of the present age can be traced as sources of inspiration. Beyond these institutions, these usages, these laws, we see a man living in advance of his time, the interpreter of his race. We see the influence of certain clans or families leading the people by the hand. What at first appears to have been the work of all will soon show itself to be that of a few wise men in whom the minds of all were reflected, and who were the guides of humanity in its infancy.

A country like Japan, that is made to prematurely leave her past and that is compelled thus to look for new horizons can be said to be almost a new-born nation. For like new-born children her people have a new task before them; and they are as much lacking the necessary experience to accomplish it as if they were newly born. Certain persons have exaggerated the value which a few freshly acquired sciences and arts could possibly have, as a substitute for experience, in such a case. Their mistake arises from the fact that they confound the effects of civilization with civilization itself. Now the task of people, under the circumstances we assume, is to gain a new civilization. But printing, gun-powder, electricity and the like, are the results or the effects of

western civilizations and not those civilizations, nor their causes. China has known printing before Europe. While the nations of the west were yet sunk in ignorance, and those of America were yet unborn, she had books, many books, in some instances, better books than have ever been composed in most of these countries. And still her people to-day are weak, timid, corrupt and void of patriotism! How is that? Simply because printing is a means for the diffusion of what is good, and not the principle of good. If made use of to spread sane, vigorous, beneficent and humane ideas, printing will do wonders in advancing or sustaining civilization. But if the public mind is yet so inexperienced, or, being experienced, has fallen so low that no one among the people brings to the press works capable of fortifying the national genius; or if such works are written and published no one reads them, or those that read them, because of want of sufficient culture, are unable to understand them, these books will prove inefficient in the diffusion of good. The same line of argument would apply to electricity, to steam, improved arms and all modern discoveries and inventions. If the people that have the knowledge of them are not laborious, enterprising, cultivated, courageous and patriotic, or, if, having all these qualities, they are yet without the requisite experience ~~required~~;



what benefit will it be to them to have railroads, telegraphs, an army or a navy ?

I am aware that Japan had exceptional opportunities in her geographical position, whereby she is placed in easy contact with the most advanced races of the globe ; in the intelligence and singularly progressive tendencies and assimilative capacities of her people ; in their docile, gentle, honest and, at the same time, determined nature, which are sure signs of an advanced moral state rather inviting imitation by others than abandonment by her. But although these blessings afforded her valuable material to rebuilt her future and even some of the means she required to do it with, still they did not constitute the future itself. They left her yet, as regards the method she wanted to mature her plans, and the experience she needed to execute them, in a condition if not absolutely similar, at least related to that in which most nations of the earth, at some stage of their history, have been. After the Restoration, a wide gap stood between Japan and the countries her rulers wished her to emulate, both with regard to political organization, manufacturing arts and trade. It once took these nations many generations to overleap such a gap ; although some of them were in far better conditions for re-organization than Japan to-day is. And it would have been rash for the latter to attempt to clear this gap at one



bound; for, indeed, it would have been a deed unnatural and impossible to her. I will revert to this important subject when I come to speak of commerce and trade.

It was upon this broad principle, which is applicable to nations as well as to individuals, that there can be no wisdom in one who has no experience, although he may have knowledge, and that he, who is without experience, is incapable of self-government, that the return, in 1871, to the absolute and uncontrolled system of rule now in force in Japan, as the best means of ever reaching the aim of the Imperial oath of June 1868, finds its justification. Indeed, if the oath had been a constitution in the sense generally attached to the word, this action would have been blamable. But it was not a constitution, although the instrument with which the oath is incorporated bears that name. This instrument was repealed by the Dai Jo Kuwan which was the source from which it emanated<sup>2</sup>; the reason — practically unanswerable — given for repealing it was that it was *stillborn*. The oath itself had none of the practical and precise characteristics of a constitution. It was a declaration of both rights and duties; of rights conceded to the governed and duties inhering in the governing power. But although not a con-

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<sup>2</sup> See pages 32 and 34.  
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stitution, it bore as sacred a character as constitutions generally are held to have, and even more so. For while constitutions generally are mere business contracts between sovereigns and subjects, the oath constituted a solemn promise, spontaneously made before the Gods by the sovereign to his people, that the rights it enumerated would be respected and the duties it laid down would be performed. Therefore for the Mikado, afterwards, to have tried to evade its provisions, would have been disastrous. It comprised five articles <sup>3</sup> between which ample room had been wisely left for the free growth of any new measures the necessity for which the gradual development of the people would demonstrate to the governing power in the course of time. Its provisions did not bind those to whom the Mikado had delegated the task to guide the nation in a new and yet unexplored field of existence, to any special mode of procedure. So long as the Imperial delegates adhered to the principles laid down in the oath, the righteousness of their course was not disputable ; and this, in spite of all their errors, we are bound to say they have done. One may best judge of men from their acts. When the present government assumed absolute control of the affairs of Japan, the people were yet wrapped up in all the pre-

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<sup>3</sup> See the text of the oath, page 31 and 32.

judices and superstitions of the middle ages. The aristocracy had exceptional rights<sup>4</sup>; their support overburdened the state. There was no rule of procedure worthy of the name for criminal trials; torture was the only means by which evidence was generally exacted. Woman had no rights; she was legally salable for the most abject purposes. Agriculture, manufactures and commerce were despised. No establishments of public credit, in the modern sense of the term, existed. Japan depended upon foreigners for accommodation in its coast-wise. There were no rail-roads, no telegraphs, no postal system, no army, no navy. The country was not represented abroad. There were no laws, no regulations for the control of public expenditures. The Mikado was invisible. Public schools for the teaching of foreign languages and of sciences were few.

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<sup>4</sup> FOURTH.—The reason why appointment to the highest rank of the officers is limited to the princes of the blood, the nobles of the court and territorial nobles, is because due affection should be shown to the sovereign and respect to great ministers of state.

The creation of a class of Imperial officers (Chô shi) out of retainers of territorial nobles and common people and raising these to offices of the second rank, is in order that honor may be given to wisdom.

SEVENTH.—Princes of the blood, nobles of the court and territorial nobles shall be accompanied by six two sworded men and three lacqueys, and persons of a lower rank by two sworded men and one lacquey, etc. etc. etc. (The constitution of 1868 appended to the Imperial oath of June 1868.)



There was no press. Religious intolerance prevailed.

To complicate matters, the nation was divided into many opposite factions in most of which antiquated and impracticable theories of reconstruction were seriously pressed forward. Some insisted upon a return to the system of the Golden-Age. In the land of the Gods they wished to have the reign of the Gods<sup>5</sup>; and as a natural consequence, the abolition of Buddhism

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<sup>5</sup> Now from the fact that, in our country, the Imperial generation has been called Amatsu-Hitsugi (descendants of the Sun) it must have been designed to succeed the race of Heavenly Divines who were the offspring of Ten-sho-Daijin who lived in Taka-maga-hara (Blue sky wide plain) in heaven, as is explained in the histories *Koji ki* and *Nihon-gi*; and from this passage from the poems in the history *Zokee* — *Nihon-gi* (continuation of the history of Japan):

« Wise princes who flourish in the brilliant palace of the sacred country. »

We may say that our people understood the rules of Government peculiar to them from the remotest period. Again, in the book *Man-yo-shu* (Book of poems), we read this long stanza :

In the beginning, when Heaven and Earth were created, a million million Divines congregated together in Heaven; and then, leaving each other, Ama-terasu-hiru-me-no-Mikoto (an other name for Ten-sho-Daijin) stayed in Heaven, while the Divines who knew the extremes of both Heaven and Earth, came down from Heaven amidst thick clouds to the Mizuho, in *Toyo-ashi-bara* ( Fertile rich plain, another name for Japan). \* \* \* \*

\* It is not without authority that our country has been spoken of as exceeding those of all foreign lands. Great Nippon is situated in the temperate zone between the 30th and the 40th parallels of latitude, extending from North to South and from East to West, and is entirely surrounded



or, what they held to be, other corrupt doctrines, the expulsion of foreigners and the restoration of Sinto in all its purity. Others, carefully avoiding saying what the policy of the Mikado about reconstruction and foreign intercourse should be, clamored for the privilege to go abroad and realize Taiko-sama's dream of the conquest of Korea,

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by the sea. As to the climate, the heat and the cold are just about medium, and the soil is most fertile, so that grains ripen abundantly, plants grow thickly and fruits are very plentiful. Gold, silver, copper, iron, lead, tin and the like, are produced in considerable quantities. Besides this, there are no places among the sixty-six provinces where the kind of rice known to be the best in the world, does not grow; and the swords are so sharp that there is no edge-tool anywhere to compare with them. Near the sea are many steep rocks that afford protection against large ships that may be tempted to threaten our coasts. The population of Dai-Nippon, in proportion to its size, is twice or more as great as that of any other state. The people having naturally a good disposition, like neatness, honor the Divines, respect virtue, and are honest, obedient and brave. All these traits are implanted in them by nature. In the very earliest ages a person who acted contrary to what was right was very seldom found, although there were then no instructions known by the designations of Chiu, Gi, Ko, and Tei (patriotism, right, filial obedience and fidelity) to regulate their course of conduct. \* \* \*

Again the richness of our country is ten or twenty times as great as that of the districts in America and near the Mediterranean sea; and if we compare it with that of a northern country like Russia, were there are a great many waste portions of ground, it must, of course, be a hundred or a thousand times as great. As we can not exactly compare the value of a large tile to that of a small precious stone, so it is clear that we can not judge of the richness of states simply by their length and breadth. —(Dai-Nippon-Kaibiyaku-Yurai-iki).

and possibly, of China. A third party carefully harbored in their heart their desire for the restoration of the feudal system, not that which had just been upset, but one of earlier growth, devised by the Gods for the protection of both the Mikado and his inheritance <sup>6</sup>. They were not opposed to the presence of foreigners on the sacred soil of Japan, nor to the introduction of their useful appliances, provided both could be made to contribute to the maintenance of their country in the commanding position, which, in their innocent pride, they believed had been set aside for it under the sun <sup>7</sup>. A fourth party which at that time was small, but which has since become powerful, spoke of nothing less than breaking entirely with the past and rebuilding the Japanese fabric upon the most advanced foreign notions of social and political freedom. « The laurels of both Gingo <sup>Kōgo</sup> Ten-Ō and Taiko-sama, » they would say, with pride, to their astonished

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<sup>6</sup> See page 38, note 7.

<sup>7</sup> We read in the Sinto books:

From the most ancient times our people have made use of various things introduced from foreign states, availing themselves of the convenience in the same way as noble men and high officers do their servants' compliance with their orders, and use the things made by them without ever doing anything themselves; and as the ears, eyes, mouth and nose, which perform the actions of hearing, seeing, speaking and smelling and instigate the action of the breast, belly, arms and feet, stand towards the head to which they belong, so do all other states stand towards our country, by which, in every thing, they are greatly excelled.—(Dai-Nippon-Kaibiyaku-Yurai-iki.)

friends, « were fine things, Iyeyasu's ambition and power also, but we have for you a still more desirable idol; » and this, they called, Liberty. Among the foreigners, from whom, after the publication of the oath of June 1868, the government, not without reason, had expected to derive some sound advice, almost the same diversity of sentiment prevailed. There was England, which with regard to the development of the national resources, pressed the adoption of a system of trade with a low tariff as a basis. But Russia, as a friend and neighbor, endeavored to dissuade Japan from yielding to what she called pernicious counsel. In proof of her sincerity she ingeniously pointed to India groaning under an iron yoke, and to China which had just agreed to pay a heavy war claim<sup>8</sup>. At the same time, as a reward for her advice, she claimed the privilege to send her priests to Yesso and to make proselytes there. As, at that time, she had practically already absorbed Sagalien by planting a colony of criminals upon its soil, Japan became suspicious. So, she went to her records and found there, better directions than she had ever received from all these officious friends<sup>9</sup>. Of the other countries

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<sup>8</sup> See Art. 5, 6 and 7 of the treaty between Her Majesty and the Emperor of China, signed at Nanking, August 29, 1842.

<sup>9</sup> During the years of Kuan Boun (1661-1672) an Empress of Mōuskōhiya (Russia), in Europe, conceived the plan of

some, like France, sided with England, and some others, like the United States, sided with no one ; they professed to have no immediate interests of paramount importance in Japan, which was true, and they gave assurances, that in those days of early growth so difficult to the nation, they would be her friends. But inasmuch as, on one or two occasions, they happened to be represented by men who had no scruple to make them act in opposition to these words, the rulers of the empire commenced to realize a terrible truth. As a sailor standing on a wreck struck by the waves has no hope unless it is from the trust he places in himself, the Japanese government, for the first time, saw that they were alone, on the ruins of their past, to effect the work of the future.

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extending the limits of her empire to the five parts of the world. She used to say : « My children and my grand-children must always look for an increase of the empire and extension of our frontiers. » Accordingly, all her descendants have complied with this Imperial order, so that their empire has become contiguous to the northern portion of Tattan (region on the mainland, to the northern of Yesso). \* \* \* \* The Russians wear red garments by order of their Empress. Inasmuch as they have taken Rakko Sima (one of the Kuriles) and they now come to Yedo Rofou (Itou<sup>group</sup>) Natsouksi, (Atskesi, a village on the Eastern coast of Yesso), there are no reasons why, in the course of time, they should not extend as far as the western portion of Yesso, turn their eyes towards the tribes of the north-eastern portion of that region and, from there, cross into Japan. Thus, Yesso is, to our empire, what the lips and teeth are to the human body ; therefore we must keep watch (San-Kokf-Tsou-Ran-To-Sets. Yedo, 1787).



In this critical position, being satisfied that their best policy was to commit themselves to no one and still remain friendly with all, with a hint to their home friends, and a smile of deference to their foreign guests, the Kaitakushi having been already organised, they sent the Iwakura mission abroad. Mr. Iwakura was a man of much ability. He had long belonged to the anti-foreign party, but, lately, had been converted to what was called the liberal cause. He left Japan accompanied by the brightest lights of the empire, Okubo, Kido and many others. His object, in visiting the United States and the several countries of Europe, was: 1st, to revise the treaties, and 2nd, to gather as much information<sup>10</sup> as possible concerning the circumstances of Foreign countries, their industries, their customs, systems of governments, etc. But his mission, in almost every respect, was a failure<sup>11</sup>. The treaties were not revised and the information collected by the ambassador, having been acquired in the course

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<sup>10</sup> We have the honor to address to you the accompanying memorial \* \* \*. You will find, in it, proposals which we often made to you during the time we were in the Government service \* \* \*. As, however, *ambassadors were visiting all the Treaty Powers in Europe and America, to obtain practical knowledge, it was decided to delay the discussion until their return*; etc. etc. (Mr. Soyeshima's letter to the Sa-In, forwarding his memorial quotations of which are given in note 2, chapt. III).

<sup>11</sup> It cost Japan \$750,000, at least so it is currently reported among natives.

of rapid wanderings, was necessarily superficial, and, as such, at the utmost, it could only be made use of by the government for general purposes. What Mr. Iwakura had been chiefly desired to do was, by a judicious revision of the treaties, to place the government in a position in which they could avail themselves of foreign intelligence and learning in deciding upon a plan of reconstruction and giving effect to it after the return of the embassy to Japan. Hence the efforts made by the embassy to obtain from the powers the abolition of the extra-territorial clause of the treaties. For it was only upon the condition that it would be expunged that the government felt inclined to give permission to foreigners to reside in the interior of the empire. It was only through such uninterrupted intercourse between foreigners and natives, that the result aimed at could be obtained.

If Japan had had more advanced systems of both legislation and administration of justice, Mr. Iwakura's aim could have been attained. But, in the state in which the empire was at the time, its realisation was not to be thought of. Seeing which Mr. Soyeshima, who was then minister for Foreign Affairs, made a new proposition to the Dai Jo Kuwan. I imagine that, in framing their instructions to Mr. Iwakura, the government had calculated that they could get rid of the em-

barrassments which the fanatical sects, the samurai classes, the superstitious and prejudiced populace, the not-always disinterested foreigners had created for Japan by engaging them all in the work of reconstruction. Having once accomplished this, they thought they could proceed uninterruptedly with their work in accordance with the principles laid down in the Imperial oath of 1868. Such was also the plan of Mr. Soyeshima, except that he wished to carry it into effect through different means than had been prescribed for Mr. Iwakura.

Mr. Soyeshima believed that both the military classes and the foreign elements were too strong to be dealt with in the indirect manner the government proposed; and he feared that, unless it could be made apparent to them that the aid which they would be asked to render to the work of reconstruction was to be more remunerative to them than the uncertain expectations held out to them by the government seemed to promise, not only would they not be found available when the time to use them should come, but they would show a front more threatening than ever. Not that Mr. Soyeshima had any doubts of the ability of the Mikado's government to protect itself against such contingencies, but he was anxious to, if possible, avoid them, and the attendant misery and suffering for all. Acting upon this basis and

being satisfied, besides, that no country, at the period of existence at which Japan had then arrived, could ever expect to re-organize on a lasting basis, until it were first made free, he wished, at the outset, to remove the swaddling bands in which the people had been kept so long and give them a voice in the administration of their affairs. The people having once been made free, he thought that the labor of both their intellectual and material improvement would become to them more a matter of pleasure than of duty, and they would set themselves to it with more vigor. For, in a state of freedom, their increased enlightenment, prosperity and strength would result in benefits that they could reap for their own individual use instead of losing them as would be the case should the state of bondage in which they were, be allowed to continue. The same logic and spirit of justice guided him in the consideration of the subject of foreign intercourse. He did not wish Japan alone to profit by the work of reconstruction to the perfecting of which, under the clause of the Imperial oath, it was desired the intellect and learning of the world should co-operate with the natives. For she would not have been alone in bearing the toil. Thus, till the time had come when the extra-territorial rule could be removed, he was ready to grant aliens the right of residence any where



in the empire under such conditions as would prove mutually beneficial. Thus, having interested the most advanced countries of the globe in the work of regeneration of Japan, the apprehensions which the attitude of some of them had once given to him lost all their importance. Besides if any power had ever entertained any selfish designs over Japan it was merely because she was weak, and now that she would be made *free*, *prosperous* and *just* it would require very little ingenuity to make her strong. This he proposed to do by opening a new field to the military classes both in Corea and aboriginal Formosa, two countries with which Japan had accounts of long standing to settle. Besides the possession of these two important strategical points to any would-be conqueror of either Japan or China had not escaped his penetration; and he felt that, in presence of the culpable indifference of China regarding these countries, which in their condition were but abandoned grounds, inviting occupation by any power that would think fit to possess their territory, Japan had a right, if not to annex both Corea and aboriginal Formosa, at least to place them under her protecting arm, till she could constitute them members of the commonwealth of nations, or till China should give satisfactory guarantees that she was both ready and capable of performing these delicate duties.

The main argument against this plan was that it was to be apprehended that a new field for distinction and glory, once having been given to the samurai, possibly, afterwards, nothing could ever stop them in their ambitious pretensions. This, it is reported, Mr. Soyeshima thought, was not to be feared; for, by the side of the war-like samurai he would place a free people militarily organized on the North German plan and by which after their labors in both aboriginal Formosa and Corea had been completed, they would be restrained to their duty pending the time in the natural order when they would be absorbed by it. And besides, from patriotism<sup>12</sup>, the very source of the motion in which he proposed to keep all the native elements of re-organization, he expected to produce the equilibrium of their powers, the security of the nation and the regeneration of Asia. What the combined efforts of thirty years of either war or diplomacy on the part of Europe and America had not been able to accomplish, he expected Japan, in this new position, could do through pacific means in one decade. This was the manner in which he, a consummate Chinese scholar and a skeptic at heart, but a Sintoist both by the force of custom and duty, wished to put to use even the superstitious aspirations of the fanatical sects of the

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<sup>12</sup> Yamato Damashii. See note 22, chapt. V.

old school, and make them fulfill the prophecy of the past ages that the mitama of Ten-Sho-Dai-Jin would sooner or later let its divine virtue fall upon the land of Foh-he<sup>13</sup> dispel and drive away before it the darkness that surrounds it like the mist before the rising sun in summer<sup>14</sup>. And, thus, Mr. Soyeshima had shown himself a true reformer. Although he did not hesitate to advise doing away with anything of the past that had outgrown its national usefulness still he never exhibited any of the wreckless disposition for changes of foreign growth, which Mr. Shimadzu so justly ascribed to some of the members of the present government and unlike them, he evidenced a laudable foresight in generally making provisions for using the serviceable material that might be drawn from the ruins that must accumulate behind him when effecting his reforms. With regard to this it is claimed that the radical hints which he had set forth in his memorial regarding the Nai-Kaku and which would seem to stand in contradiction to this last estimate of his character, were a mere feint on his part intended to awake some of his political opponents to the dangers which further delays in acknowledging the rights of the people under the Oath of

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<sup>13</sup> See page 29. 12

<sup>14</sup> «There is no country that does not receive the mitama,» etc., etc. See last paragraph of note, page 29.



1868, to have their voice listened to in the government's councils, involved for Imperial institutions in Japan; and he was open to any combination by which, without doing away with the *Nai-Kaku*, these rights would have been practically recognized. A fact that would give strength to this statement of Mr. Soyeshima's friends is that he has carefully avoided, in his memorial, to enlarge upon the manner in which he proposed to work out his idea of the *Min Shen Gi* in <sup>15</sup>; and if he had not been prepared to adapt the constructive portion of his programme to the just requirements of his opponents, it is probable that he would not have delayed as he did, in submitting it to his government. If, indeed, Mr. Soyeshima was animated by this conciliatory spirit regarding the *Min Shen Gi* in there was nothing in this plan that, with him at the helm, could not have been carried out. For as to all other points it was practicable. During his stay in China as H. M.'s Ambassador, a few months previous, he had satisfied himself that both Russia and China could be kept from inter-

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<sup>15</sup> See pages 64 and following.

Mr. Soyeshima says in his memorial: « We are firmly of opinion that the only way to maintain and develop the destinies of the empire is to establish a parliament chosen by the people and to develop public discussion in the empire. We will not here enlarge upon the manner in which the idea is to be wrought out, for that would occupy too much space. »



fering with the invasion of both aboriginal Formosa and Corea<sup>16</sup>. However Mr. Soyeshima's plan was rejected by the government.

True enough an attempt was made, afterwards, to carry out one of the details comprised in this plan viz: the pacification of aboriginal Formosa. But, inasmuch as what was done, in relation to this, had not been decided in view of the realization of the end he had proposed, it did not bring about the expected results. Yet, if, through a want of a thorough comprehension of the magnitude of his scheme, the reaping of its full benefits was prevented, at least, it resulted in establishing the prestige of Japan's flag in Asia, in gaining experience for her army, her navy and her foreign service, a monopoly of her coast carrying trade<sup>17</sup>, and it rendered possible the adjustment, on a peace basis, of the vexed Korean quarrel<sup>18</sup>—

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<sup>16</sup> If afterwards, China objected to the presence of the Japanese forces in Formosa it was at the instigation of parties whose intrigues have yet to be exposed.

<sup>17</sup> Without the Formosa expedition this could not have been done. For it was solely with the view of utilizing the numerous steamers that had been bought during the occupation of Formosa that the Mitsu-Bishi steam-ship Co. which, in three years, has succeeded in monopolizing the coast carrying trade of Japan, was formed at the instigation of the present Minister of Finance, Mr. Okuma.

<sup>18</sup> The Japanese having sent their troops to Formosa and formed advantageous alliances with the aboriginal tribes of the southernmost portion of the island, remained in possession

a full compensation, I should say, for any mere loss of money. — But what this undertaking left undone was what Mr. Soyeshima had intended to adjust first: the revision of the treaties and the removal of the drawback to the commonwealth, arising from the presence, in idleness, in her midst of the troublesome war-like samurai.

As ought to have been foreseen, after the return of the troops from Formosa the samurai continued as threatening as ever. Not without cause they were dissatisfied with the vacillating policy which the government had exhibited during both the expedition to Formosa and the negotiations with China in 1874. Soon matters came to such a point that but a mere pretext was needed to make the dissatisfied element break out into open revolt. This the funding of the

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of a commanding portion of a point situated on the S. W. coast, till China consented to acknowledge the rightfulness of the expedition and to pay Japan seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars indemnity, one half in cash, and the other half in an obligation secured by the Minister of Great Britain at Peking and payable immediately after the withdrawal of the corps of occupation. It was then that being yet surrounded by all the prestige of her late triumphs, Japan sent a mission to Corea. This time her demands which, only six months previously, had been contemptuously rejected, were complied with; the Coreans feeling that it would be imprudence on their part to resist a nation by whose power their own country's—as they thought,—mighty Suzerain had just been humbled.

pensions paid to the privileged classes proved to be. The decree prescribing the measure was soon followed, first, by the rising of Mayabara which, however, took but a few days to repress, and, afterwards, by the Satsuma insurrection, which required over seven months time and both much blood and treasure to put down.

These sacrifices, however, were regretted by no one. Although the responsibility of the last movement was made to rest upon Satsuma alone, it was, in fact, the work of the whole opposition party in Japan; not only—as is generally believed—of those that had, heretofore, raised the cry of war against Corea and China, but of all who had reason (or thought they had) to be dissatisfied with the present administration, and whose aspirations, as we have seen, had been exhibited on the morrow of the fall of the late shogunate. The fits of temper of this party, at various periods, since 1868, had been the cause of so much embarrassment and anxiety to the Mikado that the news of its humiliation came as a relief to the people at large. Besides, whether right or wrong, it was generally believed that not only the field for national progress was extended by the downfall of the rebels, but that the maintenance of what had already been accomplished was ensured. And this was of great importance. For the list of what had, thus, been done was a



long one, and its value to the nation could not be disputed. Already all classes of society had commenced to intermingle. Although the exceptional rights of the aristocracy had not all been abrogated, the pretensions of birth were now laughed at. The pensions formerly paid to ex-daimios had been brought down to a bearable figure<sup>19</sup>; and the land taxation had been correspondingly reduced. Positions of emolument and trust, in the government, were open to all. In fact in the Mikado's immediate surroundings the democratic element predominated; for out of the Imperial councillors, or sangi, not one was a noble. The

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<sup>19</sup> It is claimed that the measure, by which this change was brought about, was unjust and that, as such, it constituted a violation of the liberal principles of the Oath of 1868. I cannot concur in these views; and, in order to show how unjust is the accusation, I will explain briefly what the measure was and under what circumstances it was taken. It is known that the kuwazoku and shizoku, from the remotest ages, had monopolized all the positions of power, trust and emolument in the land. The first were the descendants, partly of ancient national chieftains who ruled over the various portions of the country previous to the conquest by the ancestors of the present dynasty, and partly of farmers who, in the reign of Kô-nin Ten-O, when the empire was threatened with invasion by the Momin (see notes 2, 3 and 4, pages 29 and 30), were induced, henceforth, to devote both themselves and their descendants to military pursuits, exclusively; in consideration of which they were given the rank of samurai and, besides, hereditary allowances of rice, or pensions. The Restoration of 1868 found both the kuwazoku and shizoku in possession of these privileges.—Thus, we see, long before 1868, the kuwazoku and the shizoku had formed part and portion of the body politic; and so they were still after the reforms that took place in



arbitrary rule of the samurai had ended its legal existence. By Imperial decree, the reign of the Dai Shin in was to succeed to it. Torture was to be no longer practiced. Woman was to be emancipated from a hateful bondage, and she could hold landed property. In one word Japanese were to be placed in the full possession of their natural rights. Industry was honored ; the Mikado encouraged its progress by presiding at the opening and closing of its fairs, and publicly distributing rewards to its most distinguished representatives. Wealth commenced to become a power. Both telegraphs

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that year. Before the Restoration, their status fitted admirably, so to speak, to the political mechanism of the country as two of the main gears to it ; but, after that great event, it became antagonistic to it. And it soon became evident that, if the progressive march of the country were to continue, the status of the privileged classes must change. As it was, the nobles were in receipt of one fourth of their old assessments, that is about the proportion of them which, being unincumbered with their former official expenses, would have been a fair compensation for actual services which, now, they had ceased to render ; and that was too much, considering that those who had succeeded them had to be paid also.

However, inasmuch as the *kuwazoku* were few in number (only 466 individuals) and their income was large, amounting, in the aggregate, to a little less than four and a half million of yens, their case presented but little difficulty. For even a large reduction of their income left them in possession of a handsome competence. With the *shizoku* it was different : There were 331,492 of them with hereditary allowances and 7,941 with life pensions, to whom a little less than  $9\frac{1}{2}$  kokus of rice, per head, or less than 40 yens each, making an aggregate of nineteen millions of yens, to be distributed annually. And these allowances moreover, although absorbing

and lines of steamers were in general use. An army and navy, admirably organised and entirely under educated native officers, were in existence. Under the greatest disadvantages Soyeshima had given the deathblow to the coolie traffic in the East by sending back to their country a number of Chinese forcibly detained on board of a Peruvian bark that had borne up for the port of Yokohama for repairs. Japan's representatives honorably discharged their duties in the principal capitals of the world. A postal service, connecting

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a large portion of the revenue of the empire, afforded the samurai merely a bare subsistence ; and, therefore, it could not be reduced without depriving them of the necessities of life. The reduction was nevertheless made. Not that the government was indifferent to the sufferings the measure would entail, but it had become apparent that the burden of maintaining this large assemblage of individuals, without any equivalent in return, might become so heavy that the state would soon cease to be able to bear it. The measure, therefore, can be said to have been taken as much in the interest of the privileged classes as of the state. For, as we have seen, they were part of the state, and the ruin of the state, which hesitation in this emergency would have brought about, would have involved their own. Viewed in this light, the funding of the pensions paid to the *kuwazoku* and *shizoku* till 1876 was justifiable. Whether, in the manner of doing it, a mistake was made or not is another question, which I will not undertake, now, to decide.

The funding of the pensions paid to both classes was effected upon the following basis :

1st.—Titles to annuities, exceeding 1,000 yens, were to be exchanged for government bonds bearing interest at the rate of 5% per annum, viz : For annuities over 70,000 yens, bonds, equal, in value, to five years income, or 350,000 yens, were

all parts of the globe, had been put in successful operation in less than four years; to its support both Japanese, within, and foreigners, without, now contributed in harmony. An intelligent native press nourished and guided the first expansions of the public mind<sup>20</sup>. In its wisdom the government, equally anxious both

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given; if exceeding 60,000 yens, but not over 70,000 yens, bonds, equal in value to  $5\frac{1}{2}$  years income, were given; if exceeding 50,000 yens, but not over 60,000 yens, bonds, equal in value to  $5\frac{1}{2}$  years income were given and so down to incomes of 1,000 yens which were made exchangeable for bonds equal in value to  $7\frac{1}{2}$  years income.

2nd.—Titles to annuities exceeding 100 yens, but not over 1,000 yens, were also to be exchanged for government bonds which, however, bore 6 % interest per annum. For annuities over 900 yens, but not over 1,000 yens, bonds, equal in value to  $7\frac{3}{4}$  years income, were given; if exceeding 800 yens, but not over 900 yens, bonds, equal in value to 8 years income, were given; till it came to incomes of 150 and 100 yens that were made exchangeable for  $10\frac{1}{2}$  and 11 years incomes.

3d.—For annuities over 75 yens, but not over 100 yens, the holder, received bonds equal in value to  $11\frac{1}{2}$  years income; if exceeding 50 yens, but not over 75 yens, bonds, equal in value to 12 years income, were given; if exceeding 40 yens, but not over 50 yens, bonds, equal in value to  $12\frac{1}{2}$  years income, were given; if exceeding 30 yens, but not over 40 yens, bonds, equal in value to 13 years income, were given; if exceeding 25 yens, but not over 30 yens, bonds, equal in value to  $13\frac{1}{2}$  years income, were given; if under 25 yens, bonds equal in value to 14 years income, were given. The bonds, given in exchange for annuities under 100 yens, bore interest at the rate of 7 % per annum.

<sup>20</sup> It was only in 1622 that the first regular journal « The Weekly News » was founded in England. It was edited by a Nathaniel Butter, but was not an original production, being a mere translation from the Dutch.



to emancipate the people from old prejudices and superstitions of native growth and protect them against such as possibly might come from without, encouraged the spread of scientific information and useful knowledge<sup>21</sup>. Schools, organized on an eclectic plan, had been open for the education of both sexes; and they were extensively patronized by the people<sup>22</sup>.

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<sup>21</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>22</sup> The introduction of this system of education will prove to have been the greatest achievement of the government of 1871. It will not be long before Japan reaps benefits from it, not only with regard to morals, but to manufacture, agriculture and commerce also. What to-day makes the great superiority of the American artisan over his European confrère is his culture and education. While, in both England and the Continent of Europe, the labouring classes are kept in a degraded ignorance, in America they are given the best opportunities to improve their minds. There are few mechanics, born in the United States, that can not both read and write correctly. The consequence is that they have become, so to speak, the *brains of the machinery whose motion they direct*, while, in Europe, workmen, owing to their intellectual defects, too often must be viewed in the light of *machines putting other machines in motion*. The consequence is that the American mechanics get more out of machinery than their European confrères generally do, and, by that, the former have enabled their employers to pay them much higher wages than the latter receive in Europe. It would repay the reader to study the report that the Swiss commissioners to the Philadelphia exhibition have published on this subject. They acknowledge the fact that owing to the greater intelligence of the American workmen, many of the industries of which but a few years ago Europe had the monopoly, have been *overwhelmed* by American competition. Among such are quoted: Watches, silk ribbons, products of Swiss dairies, leather and, finally, shoemaking.



Iyeyasu's intolerant decree against foreign religious creeds had been repealed <sup>23</sup>.

However, in presence of these happy results, a question suggested itself to the student. Was it right that the absolute and uncontrolled government, temporarily established in 1868, should be continued in its functions? And, now, that many of the circumstances by which it had been brought about, had ceased to exist, was it not advisable to substitute for it something more in conformity with the requirements of the times? What had chiefly brought about the order of things established in 1871 was the inability of the nation to initiate herself into the new conditions of existence prescribed by the Oath of 1868. These conditions subdivided themselves into two great branches, one having more especial reference to governmental matters and the other to the individual interests of the people. Although in all civilized countries governments have charge of the first, and the people attend to the second, still, during the last eleven years, for the sake of convenience the Dai Jo Kuwan had assumed control of both. In what relates to the first they had been successful. But, with regard to the second, they had not achieved success. This fact was suggestive. While, probably, ten years ago, there was not one man in Japan that had ever heard of industry, commerce or

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<sup>23</sup> See Appendix A.

municipal administration in the broad sense attached to the word at Liverpool, New York, London or Paris, there were now hundreds of thousands of people to whom these subjects were as familiar as to most men connected with the government. In 1868 there were in Japan about 4,700,000 male children, 14 years, and 4,500,000 men 20 years old. Of the first it is likely that about 4,500,000 were living and, of the second, 4,200,000. This group of 8,700,000 souls<sup>24</sup> in the national population, over one half of which had become 23, and the remainder 29 years of age, had witnessed the eventful period which Japan had just passed through, at a time of life when man learns most quickly and best. Many of them had spent their youth in studies, acquiring technical knowledge the value of which, in many cases, was strengthened by observations taken in foreign lands and familiar intercourse there with the most eminent living men. Thus, it was probable, however limited their practical experience might be, that they knew more about those interests that, in the natural order and in any country, ought to be in the people's care, but which, since 1871, as an unavoidable expedient, have been in the bureaucracy's charge, than this bureaucracy itself. Why, then, were they

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<sup>24</sup> Official statistics collected by the O-Kura-Sho, see note 6 Chapt. VII.

not—they who are of the people—called upon to relieve the government from this troublesome burden? So far, as I have said, but few have made the inquiry. But what if it should suddenly suggest itself to the nation's mind, and the people should ask for the admission of these men to the duties they appear so well qualified for?

A reply to this question is not difficult. For, under such an hypothesis, we must necessarily suppose also a new degree of development to have taken place in the psychological condition of Japan, marking the end of a period through which as we have seen, all people, that have not yet come to maturity, pass, and in which the mystery of the national conscience is unfolded. And, if this great change should occur to-day, not only would the nation make the demand we have supposed, but, besides, all such others as would necessarily be suggested to it by the spectacle of the condition in which the Dictatorship of 1871 would leave them.—A condition in which, as we have freely said in the preceding chapters, they are compelled to obey laws made without their participation, and the violation of which is punished by the courts in secret<sup>25</sup>; a position in which if, on one side, they are granted all the natural rights which man, living in a state

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<sup>25</sup> See page 53.



of society, can desire <sup>26</sup>, on the other, they are exposed to be denied their possession at the will of an omnipotent and irresponsible bureaucracy <sup>27</sup>; and against all such possible grievances they have no means of redress <sup>28</sup>; a position which, logical as it has been thus far <sup>29</sup>, in such case as we suppose, could not but be looked upon in the light of a farce; and therefore, it would come to an end by the force of circumstances which, even His Majesty the Mikado could not either resist or ignore. And it is an emergency which, in view of the advanced state in which one of the most vigorous elements of the nation has arrived <sup>30</sup>, it is not too early to prepare for.

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<sup>26</sup> See pages 105 and 106.

<sup>27</sup> See pages 37, 38, 40 and 42.

<sup>28</sup> See pages 77 and 78.

<sup>29</sup> See pages 84 and 85.

<sup>30</sup> See pages 109 and 110.

## CHAPTER V.

### PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL RECONSTRUCTION.

It is not by transferring the governing power from the Dai Jo Kuwan to the people, or *vice versa*, but by defining the functions of each in the body politic and keeping the one distinct from the other, that the problem of political reconstruction in Japan can be solved. For, while by the latter process, we may succeed in having the central power and the people work in harmony and to mutual advantage, by the former we make sure to place them in opposition to each other and, thereby, lead them into a struggle for supremacy in which history teaches us, freedom must sooner or later, find its grave. A contest of this kind has been going on in France for over eighty years, in the course of which, each of the opposite parties, in turn, getting the ascendancy, have invariably brought oppression. With the people victorious we have had the Convention or the Commune, that is popular despotism, and with the state, in the ascendancy, Napoleon, that is the tyranny of the

prince. In all candor, to-day, some may say that, to save Japan<sup>1</sup>, the Dai Jo Kuwan must be abolished and its powers transferred to the people. But who tells us that, after this mighty change has been accomplished, the people shall be more liberal and wise than the Dai Jo Kuwan is now said to be? And if indeed they should not prove to be so what reply could be made to the partisans of personal power who, doubtless, with sincerity also, would call to-morrow, for crushing popular despotism? And I doubt not that, if the change called-for were made, we would be placed in this dilemma. For, after the authority of the Dai Jo Kuwan had been reduced to nought, the people would become illimitably free, and their freedom would most likely degenerate into licence which would last till it happily should be destroyed by its own excesses. And when freedom had been thus sacrificed, there would be, again, the reign of intrigue and ambition which is said to now prevail.

So we see all uncontrolled powers are bad in this that they equally paralyze one of the two vital forces of the body politic. The uncontrolled power of the prince paralyzes *freedom*, and that of the people, *authority*. But let me say, in passing, if I had to select between the *prince-tyrant* and the *people-despot*, I would decide for the

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<sup>1</sup> See Mr. Soyeshima's memorial, pages 63 and 64, note 2.



first. There is nothing more cruel and difficult to restrain than a popular despotism.

Now when is it that both authority and freedom may reign in concert? We have already said; it is when the duties, powers and rights of both governors and governed are clearly and distinctly defined in the commonwealth. Freedom, in the body politic, represents the interests of the individual, authority represents the interests common to all in the nation. Their respective fields of action in the commonwealth should be like two circles which have neither the same center nor the same circumference; they may meet at more than one point, but they should never co-alesce<sup>2</sup>. To the state belongs general and political interests, maintenance of peace and the administration of justice; to the individual belongs the right of life, his personal freedom and his property, all of which are held to belong to him by natural right<sup>3</sup>. Upon the state devolves the duty of protecting the individual in the enjoyment of these blessings; upon the individual that of making a just use of them in fulfilling his destiny here below, that is to improve his circumstances both moral and material even at the cost to himself of considerable inconvenience and pain<sup>4</sup>. From this it follows that, if the

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<sup>2</sup> Edouard de Laboulaye.

<sup>3</sup> Locke.

<sup>4</sup> Guillaume de Humbolt.

individual cannot exist without these natural rights, neither can he exist without the state; for, without the state, he has no security for their enjoyment<sup>5</sup>. Now unless the state is provided with considerable power it will be unable to fulfill its task. In fact, the stronger its power the better fulfilled its mission will be also. Hence the union of the individuals in view of the strengthening of the state. But if the individuals themselves are weak, of course their union will be weak also; and that is why, with a view of strengthening the state, so much care must first be taken to strengthen the individual.

But the state having thus been made strong how shall it be prevented from becoming despotic? By merely keeping it within the bounds that are indicated by the nature of its functions. The state is not the individual, nor the collection of the individuals of which the nation is formed; therefore neither individual nor social interests or rights come within its legitimate sphere<sup>6</sup>. Whenever, with the powerful aid of centralization, the state exerts itself in protecting both the independence and the peace of the nation, it should be held to operate within its legitimate bounds; but, when it does more than that, it should be justly considered as going out of its domain. And

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<sup>5</sup> Baron Eœtvoes.

<sup>6</sup> Edouard de Laboulaye.

that is when the individual comes again on the scene. Individuals had united in supporting the state so long as it operates within its legitimate field; their union is dissolved when the state attempts to go beyond it. In this case it is the self governing individual that shows his superior strength; for if we admit that the state cannot exist without the individual it is difficult to imagine how, in such a case, the former could continue one instant against the will of the latter. The only instance in which the state is justified in interfering with individual freedom is when, by the latter's actions, another individual, or an association of them, or the whole of them, are in danger of suffering in the enjoyment of their legitimate rights and privileges.

Now the question comes, how shall we reconcile these liberal principles with absolute power in Japan? By merely contracting the sway of the central power in the political fabric in proportion, I should say, to the extension which the functions of the individual should receive in it. The establishment of these limits would not be an innovation in Japan. For although in the days that preceded the Restoration, the place which the individual occupied in the commonwealth was small, it was nevertheless perceptible, and, what is more, it was the law that it should not be trespassed upon. I have already stated in chap-



ter III what penalty had been attached by Iyeyasu, in 1602<sup>7</sup>, to any transgression of this law. But in making these provisions Iyeyasu had merely reference to the times in which he lived<sup>8</sup>. Although the limits within which the central power must be kept at the present time will greatly differ from those that had been judged necessary in 1602, the principle, by which they must be decided, remains unchanged. For to-day, as was the case in the times of Iyeyasu, the people must still be considered as forming « the foundation of the empire »<sup>9</sup>; and to-day it would not be safer for the Mikado, than it would have been for Iyeyasu in 1602, to disregard the wishes of the people. In this position while, in 1602, it was found necessary for the central power, in order to maintain itself, that it should be *benevolent* towards the people<sup>10</sup>, in the present days of enlightenment, and in pursuance of the Imperial

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<sup>7</sup> See note 10, page 76.

<sup>8</sup> Although it has been said that ancient customs are to be preserved as laid down in the several articles of the laws framed for the military classes, those may be modified or supplemented as it becomes desirable (Legacy of Iyeyas chapt. XCVIII).

<sup>9</sup> See page 10, note 5.

<sup>10</sup> The ancestor of the Imperial throne should look upon the people as one who nourishes an infant. \* \* \* The term applied to this feeling is *benevolence*; and benevolence includes the whole of the five relations, etc., etc. (of Iyeyas, Legacy, etc., chapt. XCVIII).

oath of 1868, *justice* must be shown to all <sup>11</sup>. A reign of justice could not be said to prevail unless the enjoyment of natural rights, as granted by the Mikado, at different times, since 1868, should be secured to all in the empire. If this guarantee is given to the people, our double requirement in view of the solution of the problem proposed will be satisfied. For, after we have given to the individual all that belongs to him in the commonwealth, there, of course, remains for the government to take, only what has not been disposed of already; and that is, in fact, all that it should have. Besides, under these conditions, the commonwealth is safe; and, if by this operation, his Majesty will render his subjects unusually free and strong within their legitimate field of action in the commonwealth, he will assure the same advantages to the government within the limits left to it in the regular order, without there being any possibility of their trespassing on each other grounds. For, although each shall be truly free, the limits of the fields in which each shall exercise its freedom, have been so well defined that they shall never interfere with each other.

In vain would it be argued that no such rights as we have assumed, were ever granted to the people, or that, if they were ever granted, the fact

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<sup>11</sup> Article 4th of the oath.



that the concession was not made the object of a constitutional enactment so weakens the grant as to make it void. For the Mikado did formally grant those rights when he solemnly swore to the Gods that « the uncivilized customs of former times should be broken through and the *impartiality* and *justice* displayed in the working of nature should be adopted as a basis of action <sup>12</sup> » ; and when, later on, in confirmation of these words, he decided that the arbitrary <sup>13</sup> and outgrown rule of the samurai, should be done away with, and in their stead that both the

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<sup>12</sup> Art. 4 of the oath of June 1868, see page 32, note 5.

<sup>13</sup> « The samurai are the masters of the four classes : Agriculturists, artisans, and merchants, may not behave in a *rude manner* towards samurai. The term for rude man is « other-than-expected-fellow » ; and a samurai is not to be interfered with in cutting down a fellow who has behaved to him in a manner other than is expected. »

« The samurai are grouped into direct retainers, second retainers and nobles, and retainers of high and low grade ; but the same line of conduct is equally allowable to them all towards *an other than expected fellow*. (Legacy of Iyeyasu, chapt. XLV.) »

In contrast with this regime that lasted till 1867, to-day, in Japan, no one can be by right, deprived of his life or freedom except as a punishment for crimes and, in such cases, by due process of law. Again, every one freely holds his landed or other property, and no one can be dispossessed of the same by the state, even if it be for the public good, without adequate compensation being given to him and that in the same manner as is practised in other civilized countries. And, as a guarantee that these, his natural rights shall be held sacred, the Mikado warrants them to his subjects against all by the institution of carefully drawn rules of procedure whereby any one in the



Genro-in and the Dai-shin-in should be founded, thereby, on one side, « widening out the fountain-head of the establishment of law, and, on the other, rendering firm the powers of careful judicial procedure <sup>14</sup>. To our vision the absence of constitutional evidence clearly defining what these rights are should not be of more concern to the Japanese nation than Englishmen might feel over the fact that the bill of rights promulgated in 1689 <sup>15</sup>, in England, and which is the principal

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empire can sue and be sued in the courts which have been established for that purpose. But this is not all: Japanese having been thus made safe in the possession of these rights, it was necessary that they should give opportunities to make use of them in the fulfillment of their destiny here below; and that is why all in the empire, whether nobles, samurai or heimin, are admitted on equal terms to improve their circumstances in life according to their taste or their talents. As we have seen, no doors are any longer closed to them. Although to-day it may suit their fancy to be merchants, physicians or mechanics, to-morrow they shall not for that be denied access to the highest positions in the state, those of Dai-Jin only, excepted (see last paragraph of chapter VII). Mr. Goto, who was a sangi in 1873, resigned in 1874 and became a merchant afterwards. He again entered the Government in 1875, as vice-president of the Genro-In. He is now a merchant again. Mr. Terasima, now Minister of Foreign Affairs, was once a physician; and the present Minister to England occupied an humble position in a foreign house at Yokohama. If these are not rights, I do not know what rights are, *although I concede that practically the same are held, at present, by the people, at the will of an omnipotent bureaucracy.*

<sup>14</sup> See text of the Imperial decree dated 14 April 1875, page 44, note 16.

<sup>15</sup> See I. Will. and Mary, S. 2. C. 2.

document in that country, that may be said to have, in part, a constitutional character, does not comprise all the essential elements of Great-Britain's public law. Strictly speaking, if we look at things closely, we will perceive that there is nothing like a constitution in England. And yet both political and individual freedom reign there<sup>16</sup>. Thus, we see, the people of Japan have rights, <sup>and</sup> if these rights are improved by them, they will constitute a material amply sufficient to lay the foundations of a powerful and, at the same time, liberal political organization.

The fear that the people must have experience before they can enjoy these rights to their best advantage and that it may have to be acquired at the cost of some suffering, at first, should not prejudice the legislator against our system. For, as we have seen, the Japanese have some of the

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<sup>16</sup> The explanation of this is that, as Mr. William Empson says : « the English constitution is more historical than philosophical. It has been the gradual development of natural good sense, shown in a spirited and prudent improvement of tendencies and events, without any of the ambition of a regular preconcerted system. Its object was never stated in a declaration of the abstract rights of man, nor its organization derived from a metaphysical analysis of the elements of human nature. » It is true that legists might be much embarrassed under the present circumstance, to define Japanese freedom ; but, for similar reasons, they might be led to refuse to admit the existence of many of the most important branches of Great-Britain's constitutional freedom. And yet British freedom would still exist as a fact.

necessary experience<sup>17</sup>, and the way the remainder can be gained is in the active exercise of their individual rights<sup>18</sup>. To use a trite but homely phrase, one can never learn how to swim who is denied free access to water. And, besides, protracted guardianship is always fatal. If we are curious to ascertain what effects it has upon nations, we need only look at what was the condition of the people in the Roman Empire just before it became a prey to the northern barbarians; and we will learn how, with the best laws, applied by the most intelligent and experienced officers, such government can so enervate a race that it will finally become unfitted forever for national freedom and life<sup>19</sup>. What has saved Japan from utter demoralization in past ages are both her military institutions and the spirit of patriotism by which noble aspirations and desires were kept alive in all breasts, in defiance of the adverse forces that would have otherwise produced thorough national abasement. As it was, the people were generally moved with disdain for gain<sup>20</sup> and

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<sup>17</sup> See pages 109 and following.

<sup>18</sup> See chapter VIII, paragraphs 3 and 4.

<sup>19</sup> Edouard de Laboulaye.

<sup>20</sup> Of Japanese disinterestedness Mr. Bousquet writes : « Que de fois, harassé de chaleur, de faim ou de fatigue, je me suis arrêté chez ces braves gens, à qui j'avais peine à faire accepter le prix de leurs services ; natures primitives, sociales, aimables dans leur rusticité, en qui coule la sève généreuse de la race. » ( *Le Japon de nos Jours*, etc., etc., by Georges Bousquet, tome premier, page 60, Paris, 1877. )



inclined to self-denial; and they felt that their first duty, for the performance of which they had been taught they were entitled to neither praise nor reward <sup>21</sup>, was an unconditional devotion to their country <sup>22</sup>. Even the Mikados were long led to believe that, if they sat on their throne, it was because of the Gods' tender solicitude for the Kenro Sekai <sup>23</sup> whose prosperity and grandeur had been ensured by the grant of three talismans, two of which were for the people and one only

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<sup>21</sup> In the Sinto books we read the following maxim: « In the place of a dream, knowing that we are not dreaming, we ought, for all peoples' sake, to do good, simply because we know it to be right. » ( *Dai-Nippon-Kaibiyaku-Yurai-iki*, Introductory. )

<sup>22</sup> « In this position (that is our country being so gifted by Heaven) if our people could only keep the Yamato-damashii firmly in their hearts, throwing aside their private likes and dislikes, and learning only the things of foreign nations to make them the property of our country, they would not make such a distinction between China and western countries (that is they would remain as guarded with regard to the adoption of changes of Chinese growth as they are with those of Western and American origin). And this would coincide with the true sentiments of the ancient emperors and would be the course most expedient for the general good. But I must confess that great evil would follow if our people were to learn foreign things with their minds swayed by the passions of like and dislike, overcome by the desire for gain and individual fame, and not able to choose things which are good. Consequently our people must endeavor to keep a discreet mind and do everything for the welfare of the country and not for their own convenience. » — ( *Dai-Nippon-Kaibiyaku Yurai-iki*, Preamble ).

<sup>23</sup> Commonwealth, See page 8, note.

for the sovereign <sup>24</sup>. Such were the means by which, in the days that preceded the Restoration of 1867, the evil effects of despotism upon the nation had been counteracted. But with the new drift of the people toward the care of material interests and the acquirement of wealth, a protracted despotism would have quite different results ; possibly causing them to fall so low morally that, at the hour of need, they might be found without those qualities which are essential to a nation for the maintenance of her national independence. It was, partially, to the same causes which, under this supposition, would work their evil effect upon Japan, that brought the moral fall of France during the rule of Napoleon III, — with what results, we saw at her first encounter with Prussia, in 1870.

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<sup>24</sup> « Of these three treasures, the Yasa-gami-no-tama is that which protects the family line of the Emperor, and the Yata-no-Kagami and Mura Kumo-no-tsuru-gi are the sacred treasures that preserve the nation at all times. » See pages 27 and following, note 1.







## CHAPTER VI.

### PRINCIPLES, THEORIES AND PRACTICE.

Doubtless it will be objected that, if the new political structure of Japan is to be founded upon such liberal principles as we have advanced in the preceding chapter, it would be just as well to select for it at once, one of the organizations of these countries where these principles are known to have received the most thorough application and given the best results. Such a process, however, it may be remembered we have condemned on principle, and not without reasons. For social and political institutions are the products of a people's civilization; and neither civilizations nor their fruits can well mature unless they are allowed a gradual and indigenous growth. The condition of life, that is, evolution from a primitive and synthetic seed, distribution of functions, separation of organs, obtains in civilizations and in their products as in any of the organized products of nature. So that what can be said of the life of the latter is equally applicable to theirs.—A seed is dropped, contain-

ing in power the whole being that is to rise from it, the germ develops itself, and forms assume their regular proportions. What in the seed was a power at rest becomes an active agent; but nothing creates itself; nothing is added to what already was in the seed.—Such is the law of every thing that is submitted to the condition of life <sup>1</sup>. Such is also the law of civilizations and of their products, although the circumstances of the latter are always more or less affected by immigration, international relations and the like.

The rudimentary political and social organization of the several branches of the human family were parts and portions of the first evolution of their civilization; and, in every case, these rudiments contained the elements of subsequent evolutions and progress. Doubtless there was a vast difference between what prevailed, for instance, on the banks of the Tiber, in the days of Romulus, when the founder of the Roman Empire, being merely the chief of a few outlaws, traced around the Palatium a furrow representing the sacred limits beyond which commenced the city without protection, and what existed there when a great historian could say of Rome: « It has taken eight hundred years of constant fortune and discipline to raise this Colossus which would

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<sup>1</sup> Ernest Renan.

crush, under its ruins, whoever would be tempted to shake it<sup>2</sup>; and, yet to whatever page ~~he~~ *we* turn of the history of the Eternal City, we read of the same sound policy, the same social activity, the same severe discipline that led the Roman civilization, from what it was in its primitive and synthetic germ, to what evolved from it finally, that is, the national grandeur and enlightenment by which, even at this date, the world has not ceased to profit. Where I see a civilization that does not appear to be of regular, continuous and indigenous growth, it is where the people are of a mixed origin, or their genius has been affected by a protracted contact with a foreign race superior to it, either in some points or *in toto*. But, invariably, where the unity of race exists, there is to be also unity of civilization. At the end of his career, Alexander the Great adopted the civilization of Asia, and his subjects, of the European side, were led, by his example, to follow it also. However, after his death, the sections of his empire, in which unity of race prevailed, returned to their national forms. It was only where the people were hybrid, for instance those of Egypt in which, Greeks, Syrians, Arabs and the rest were crowded together, that the civilization became mixed. Europe, in the middle ages, was invaded by the Arabs; but, except where much of the

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<sup>2</sup> Tacitus.



semitic blood remained behind, as, for instance, in some portions of Spain, the civilization of the people retained its national character in full.

It was to causes probably analogous to those that had operated in Spain, that the civilization of Japan, from the seventh century, was affected by that of China; but the modification was also accomplished through an interior process and in conformity to the general laws we have considered. Writing, philosophy, arts, sciences, system of government, legislation were introduced, at the same time, from the main land; but all merely as so many shoots—so to speak—to be grafted on the national stock, whose fruits, although changed in flavor and form, kept yet, within themselves, the characteristics of the Japanese species. To-day no one would think of establishing any degree of parentage between the Japanese tongue and that of China; and all those features of Japanese civilization that were considered as characteristic, although they were either foreign or antagonistic to that of China, namely, the supremacy of the military classes in the political organization, a sacred reverence for the Imperial dynasty, and an unbounded attachment to the country have been preserved.

The same results will follow the present contact of the civilization of Japan with those of the west, although the new state of affairs that will

attend these results will be based upon the liberal principles we have expounded <sup>3</sup>. For these principles—although some may think differently in Europe and America—are not exclusively of western growth, but parts of an eternal code of truth in the knowledge of which the whole of human kind is admitted to share, though the applications made of them must necessarily vary according to the temperament and genius of races, or their advancement in civilization.

As we have seen, there is a wide gap between the synthetical and obscure expression of the abstract principle of what is due to the people, as may be found in the constitution of Ieyasu <sup>4</sup>, and its analytical and clear definition as given in the decrees of the enlightened period of Meiji <sup>5</sup>. Yet, in both cases, it is the application of the same principle that is aimed at, and to this task both the Mikado and the privileged classes have devoted themselves from immemorial times.

As we have seen, in the early days of the empire, the Mikados fulfilled their mission through a mysterious rule which all bore without even endeavoring to explain, ~~which~~<sup>where</sup> the nobility accomplished theirs through acts of heroism and benevolence that commanded admiration among

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<sup>3</sup> See pages 114 and following.

<sup>4</sup> See last paragraph of note 10, page 76, also page 118.

<sup>5</sup> See pages 104, 105 and 106. See also note 12, page 120.

the people and led them to follow their rulers in passive obedience. But, now, with the rapidly coming downfall of the reigns of both superstition and brutal force, as brought about by a general diffusion of knowledge, and by the introduction of appliances of modern skill, the Mikadoate is fated to become an office whose power will be owing, solely, to the respect it may command; and the only influence, that the privileged classes may expect to retain, will be that which they can derive from facilities which their members may have, and the earnestness they may show in availing themselves of them, to give encouragement to progress. As to the people, instead of being what they have long been, a mere mechanical force, they will fulfill the functions of a rational power.

Thus, we see, while engaged in looking for a solution of the problem of political reconstruction, the Japanese politician must look for guides in two opposite directions, one standing almost imperceptible in the remoteness of the past<sup>6</sup>, and the other being yet dimmed in the mist of a more or less distant future<sup>7</sup>. But unless he succeeds in availing himself of the aid of both, he is fated to err in his determination of the essential requirements of the

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<sup>6</sup> See pages 6, 27 and 75.

<sup>7</sup> See pages 109, 110, 111 and 112.

present.—A most difficult situation this, the key to which none of the accepted theories of government in Europe or America would be apt to give; not because these theories do not rest upon an immutable truth generally applicable, but because they merely teach receipts for a general application of this truth in the countries whence they originate. And, therefore, while these theories would undoubtedly give valuable hints as to what *might be done*, generally in Western lands or in America they could not serve in deciding upon what *can now be done* in Japan. And that is why, while endeavoring to devise a new temporary political organization whereby the work of general reconstruction, now going on in the latter country may be better facilitated than it might be by a continuation of the Dictatorship of 1871, we may be satisfied with any result which, although differing from what existed, or still exists in countries where people have been, or are now known to be both free and prosperous, may still prove adequate to meet the present requirements of this empire. Less than this, no one could think to offer; and more than that we should say no one can ask.







## CHAPTER VII.

### RECONSTRUCTION.

To admit of the limitation of the roles which we have held should be assigned to the state and the individual, respectively, in the Japanese commonwealth, the political organization of the country has to undergo, to be sure, certain modifications ; but no such radical changes as would be required were the transfer to be made of the supreme authority from the Dai Jo Kuwan to the people. The Nai-Kaku would not need to be abolished. It would remain the directing-agent by means of delegated powers from the Mikado. But, as is suggested by Messrs. Itagaki and Shimadzu <sup>1</sup>, the Nai-Kaku, being the head of the government, should only perform the functions that belong to it, that is, be satisfied with directing the general operations of the state. Upon this principle, the legislative powers, which the Nai-Kaku has retained in the government of 1871, should be withdrawn from it ; and the task of directing the national industries through the Nai Mu Sho — except as to what relates to model farms or manufac-

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<sup>1</sup> See page 60.

tories already established — would be transferred to ken councils, formed of the delegates of the people <sup>2</sup>. In consequence of this arrangement, the Chi-ho-Kwan-Kuaigi would be abolished and a new house, whose members would be elected by the people, substituted for it. It would be named the Min Shen Gi in, and, jointly with the Genro In, it would both hold and exercise all the legislative power under the direction of the Nai-Kaku.

Besides the Min Shen Gi in and the ken councils there would be created a privy council whose members, being entirely of the kuwazoku class, would find their natural place by His Majesty the Mikado's side. But, in order to enable them to render the important services which would be expected from them, — an object that could not be better attained than by identifying their interests with those of the people by liens as strong as those that already bind them to the throne, — they would be expected to make their residence in the kens, where a grant of a certain number of cho of crown lands would be made to each. These grants would form domains to which would be attached such titles as may already exist, or may be created for the purpose. These domains would be revertible to the eldest son issued

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<sup>2</sup> In 1874 the number of ken was reduced to 60 and in 1876, to 30; but the number of fu never changed. Under the present arrangement there would be thirty three ken councils.

from marriage, or adopted, in direct line from male to male by order of primo-geniture, unless a younger male child be preferred by testament. These estates which, to all intents and purposes, would resemble what the French call *Majorats*, could not be alienated, seized or mortgaged. Their owners would be placed under the obligation of developing them in proportion to the income they derive from their funded pensions on pain of exclusion from the kuwazoku class and loss of their pensions. The privy council would be, to His Majesty the Mikado, something like what the institution of that name is to the British sovereigns. It would assemble in Tokio whenever the Genro In and Min Shen Gi in would be in session, and its first gathering, in each year, would take place at least one month before these two houses would open their deliberations.

There are 466 kuwazokus. It has been thought best to distribute them in the same natural divisions which have been adopted for the basis of representative districts, as will be hereafter explained, and from which, also, the members of the Genro In would be appointed; and the distribution of the former and the appointment of the latter would be based upon the population of the divisions. The whole number of the kuwazokus constitutes more than is desired to have in the privy council. That body should not have



more than fifty-three members, or a little over one-ninth of the whole body of the kuwazokus. They would be selected by H. M. the Mikado to serve for three years. The strength of the Genro In should be limited to sixty-nine members who would be appointed by the sovereign, as provided in rule third of the regulations of 1875<sup>3</sup>. Under this arrangement, the number of the kuwazokus residing in the different natural divisions, and the number of members for both the Genro In and privy council, appointed from these divisions, would be as follows :

| REPRESENTATIVE DISTRICTS.  | POPULATION. | Members of Genro In. | Number of Kuwazoku residing in each District. | Number of Members of Privy council. |
|--|-------------|----------------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| Kinai (Home provinces).....  | 2,073,652   | 4                    | 25  | 3                                   |
| Tōkaidō (Eastern sea region)....                                   | 7,442,411   | 15                   | 100   | 10                                  |
| Tōzandō (Eastern mountain region)                                  | 6,866,563   | 14                   | 87  | 9                                   |
| Hokurikudō (Northern land region)                                  | 3,349,551   | 7                    | 60  | 6                                   |
| Sanindō (Mountain back region)..                                   | 1,608,561   | 3                    | 25  | 3                                   |
| Sanyodō (Mountain front region).                                   | 3,481,865   | 7                    | 50  | 5                                   |
| Nankaidō (Southern sea region)..                                   | 3,225 107   | 7                    | 50  | 5                                   |
| Saikaidō (Western sea region) and the Islands of Iki and Tsushima. | 4,963 799   | 10                   | 62  | 6                                   |
| Hokkaidō (Yezo).....   | 121,301     | 1                    | 5   | 4                                   |
| Riu kiu .....  | 166,789     | 1                    | 2   | 2                                   |
| Total.....   | 33,300,600  | 69                   | 466   | 53                                  |

<sup>3</sup> See the regulations, page 50 note 17.

The people would be represented in the Min Shen Gi in at the rate of one member for each 250,000 individuals, and, in each of the ken councils, by thirty-one members, all to be chosen, every third year, by the delegates of the inhabitants of the several representative districts above named.

In the choosing of the members of the ken councils and the Min Shen Gi in, all persons, of good morals and knowing how to both write and read, whether kuwazokus, shizokus or heimins, paying taxes<sup>4</sup> on not less than one *tan* (about 1,080 square feet, or  $\frac{246}{1,000}$  English acres) of improved agricultural lands of any class, or on

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<sup>4</sup> In connection with taxes, the following details may prove interesting :

It may be well, there, to mention the method by which the harvests of rice are yearly investigated and by which the rate of taxations is fixed. There are four classes of lands, respectively called superior, good, inferior and bad ; their supposed products are, nominally, fixed permanently, which are called their *takas*. The one-half of these products is apportioned to the government and the other half left to the cultivator. This is called the *five private and five public divisions* ; or they are divided in other proportions varying from *six public and four private*, to *three public and seven private*. But, practically, the products are not yearly the same ; and, to investigate them, the following mode is used, which is called *renmi* (an examination) : The provincial officials are dispatched to the rural districts in the season of harvest. They, with the villagers, cut down any one square *bu* (36 sq. feet) of rice, pass it through mortar, and ascertain the exact quantity, making allowance of two-tenths for *himeri* (or the diminution which the grain makes in bulk, when it loses its moisture and becomes dry in the future day). This quantity is taken as the standard for all the lands of the same class, and, accordingly, the harvest of the year is estimated, and the tax is levied thereon.

pastures, or city real estate of the value of not less than one *tan* of improved agricultural lands of any class, and who had one male child, either issued from marriage or adopted, and being heads of families, as hereunder stated, would be electors. These electors should be divided into sections of one hundred families. Each section should elect, by ballot, one person. All persons, so selected by

Besides this, there are several modes of investigating other grains; but they cannot be said to be general systems, their forms, locally, differing. As regards rice taxation, also, many other modes are in practice; but in all of them, the amount of tax is settled permanently, and they are not the means of examining yearly harvest. (Official statistics collected by the O-Kura-Sho).

At the O-Kura-Sho, arable lands are divided into two great classes, viz: the lands on which rice is grown and the miscellaneous lands. The former are valued at 521.24 yen per cho, and the latter at 206.72 yen, which, I have calculated, would give an average value, for both classes, of 379.17 yen per cho. The table, hereunder given, having reference to the estimated value of all cultivated lands in Japan and of the amount of taxes levied on the same, and made from returns for 1874, may prove interesting:

| KIND<br>of<br>LAND.  | ESTIMATED VALUE.                     | TAXES LEVIED.                     |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Rice land...         | yen 1,154,960,916—97c $\frac{9}{10}$ | 34,648,827 y.—49 $\frac{5}{10}$ c |
| Miscellaneous lands. | yen 396,281,271—86c $\frac{7}{10}$   | 11,888,438 y.—15 $\frac{6}{10}$ c |
| Total .....          | yen 1,551,242,188—89c $\frac{6}{10}$ | 46,537,265 y.—65 $\frac{4}{10}$ c |

(Official statistics collected by the O-Kura-Sho.)



the sections, should constitute the Delegate-Electors. These Delegate-Electors should be eligible to choose the members of Min Shen Gi in and ken councils. Any fraction of a section, numbering sixty-six or more families, if there should be any such fractions, should be entitled to select an additional Delegate-Elector. The election of Delegate-Electors, by the sections, and of the members of the ken councils, by the Delegate-Electors, should be at such time and places as should <sup>be</sup> prescribed by law.

Chiefs of families would be permitted to permanently delegate their political rights to any one of their male children that had attained the age of 25, and who, henceforward, would enter into the full exercise of the rights and prerogatives transferred to him by his parents in the same manner as if he were chief of family. The only qualification, required from the Delegate-Electors, would be, 1st., that they be chiefs of families and possessing the qualifications required for electors; 2nd., that, at the time of their election, they have their residence in the ken from which they be chosen; 3rd., that when elected they be at least 25 years of age; and, 4th., that they do not hold any office under the central government.

The lists of sections would be prepared under the supervision of the chiji or rei, assisted by ten residents of the kens, the names of whom



would be drawn by lot, and the <sup>drawing</sup> election would take place every three years, upon writ issued by the chiji and rei, at such places as are most convenient for the meeting of the sections.

We know that there are in the empire 7,189,731 houses<sup>5</sup>. But inasmuch as it is probable their owners are not all chiefs of families, and, if they were, would not all be likely to fulfill the conditions required by law from the Electors, it is almost impossible to determine, from the statistics at hand, what the number of the Electors, for each representative district, would be<sup>6</sup>. Delegate-Electors would be elected for three years, and their regular meetings would take place, once in three years, at such time and places in the district

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix B, table.

<sup>6</sup> With reference to this question the following table, showing the population of the empire for 1873, may prove interesting.

| CLASSES.                     | Male.      | Percentage of male population. | Female.    | Percentage of female population. | Grand Total. | Percentage of total population. |
|------------------------------|------------|--------------------------------|------------|----------------------------------|--------------|---------------------------------|
| Children under 14 Years..... | 8,754,926  | 28,15                          | 4,630,036  | 28,22                            | 9,384,962    | 28,18                           |
| Adults from 15 to 59 .....   | 10,662,103 | 63,12                          | 11,665,817 | 71,09                            | 22,327,920   | 67,11                           |
| Adults of 60 or above .....  | 1,472,733  | 8,72                           | 110,869    | 0,68                             | 1,583,602    | 4,70                            |
| Ages unknown.                | 1,953      | 0,01                           | 2,163      | 0,01                             | 4,116        | 0,01                            |
| Total ....                   | 16,891,715 | 100,00                         | 16,408,885 | 100,00                           | 33,300,600   | 100,00                          |

From the above table it would appear that there are in Japan, 1,472,733 adults of 60, or above. I would not presume

as would be considered best; and their meeting would last only the time required to elect the members of the Min Shen Gi in and of the ken councils. No one could be elected to sit in the latter unless, at the time of his election, he had been a resident of the ken for at least two years and be 25 years of age. And no person could be a member of the Min Shen Gi in unless he had attained the age of 25 and had, when elected, his residence in that ken in which he would be chosen.

When vacancies should happen in the repre-

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to dispute the correctness of the O-Kura-Sho's returns, but will merely remark that, when compared with those of other countries, one would be tempted to say that, judging by analogy, they are not true or even near the truth. The females of and above the age of 60, according to all tables of mortality, considerably out-number the males. The latest English tables show that, of every million births, there are, males, 511,745 and females, 488,255. Of these there are alive at the commencement of their 14th year, males, 345,696, and females, 342,062. The peculiar perils of each sex have not yet begun to operate, and the males still hold the majority with which they started. In the beginning of the 53d year, there are living, males, 219,437, and females, 219,698. The peculiar perils of each sex have, by this time, ceased to operate, and thereafter the females show, in each year, their superior vitality, so that, at the beginning of the 60th year, the survivors are, males, 182,350, and females, 187,477; and the disparity increases with each succeeding year. The rate of mortality in males of all ages is one in 39,91 and in females of all ages, one, in 41,85. But perhaps the difference in Japan may be accounted for by the peculiar circumstances of the country and of its inhabitants, which are so different from those found anywhere else.

sentation from any district, it should be the duty of the *chiji* or *rei* of the place from which the election should be made, to issue writs of election to fill such vacancies. Both the *Min Shen Gi* in and the *ken* councils would choose their speakers and other officers.

As we have seen, the *Genro In* would be composed of sixty-nine members. They would be chosen by the Emperor for nine years and each member, so chosen, would have one vote. However, immediately after being assembled, in consequence of the first election, they would be divided, as equally as might be, into three classes. The seats of the members of the first class would be vacated at the expiration of the third year, of the second class, at the expiration of the sixth year, of the third class, at the expiration of the ninth year, so that one third might be chosen every third year after each new election of the members of district delegates. And if vacancies should happen by resignation, or otherwise, in the *Genro In*, the same should be filled at once and in the manner specified above.

No person could be a member of the *Genro In* who had not attained the age of thirty years, and who, at the time of the first formation of the *Genro In* upon this new basis, had not had for one year, and, at the time of the calling of the 1st class, for three years, at the time



of the formation of the 2nd class, for six years and at the time of the formation of the 3rd class for nine years, his residence in the ken for which he should be chosen.

The heir to the throne should be the president of the Genro In, provided he be twenty-five years of age; or, in case there be no such person, or, being one, he should not fulfill the conditions of age, by such person as the Genro In might think fit to elect. The Genro In should choose its other officers. The Genro In should assemble, at least, once in every year, each session to continue at least sixty days, or longer, at the discretion of the Nai-Kaku.

Each house, whether ken councils, or the Min Shen Gi in, should be the judge of the election returns and qualifications of its own members; and a majority of each should constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller <sup>number</sup> ~~member~~ could adjourn from day to day and should be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner and under such penalties as each house might provide. Each house could determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

Neither the Genro In nor the Min Shen Gi in, during their session, should adjourn, without the consent of the other, for more than three days,



or to any other place than that in which the two houses be sitting, except under such circumstances as might be especially provided for by law.

The members of both the Genro In and the Min Shen Gi in should receive their compensation from the national treasury, and the members of the ken councils, should get theirs from the ken treasuries. But all of them, except in cases of treason, felony, or breach of the peace, should be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the sessions of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in their respective houses they should not be questioned in any other place. In cases of crimes or breach of the peace, the members of the ken councils could be arrested upon the request of the government by order of their council after full inquiry by the latter upon the merit of the charges and upon a vote of two-thirds of the members present. Should the councils find the charges groundless, by a vote of two-thirds of the members present, they could put an end to the proceedings. The ken councils could also expel their own members and imprison, while their sessions lasted, any person who, being within the gates of the buildings in which they held their sittings, should violate their privileges and ignore their rights. Both the Min Shen Gi in and Genro In should have similar

powers, except that, in cases of crimes or misdemeanors committed by their members, the requests for arrest should come from the Dai Shin in; and, if the house thought best and proper to comply with the request, they should express it by a vote of two-thirds of the members present, upon which the member would be tried by the house he belongs to; and, if found guilty, he should be expelled, and handed to the courts to be dealt with as provided by law. Ken councils would meet, at the capitals of the kens, every year, and at least sixty days prior to the opening of the Min Shen Gi in. Their legitimate objects for consideration would be, 1st. the general condition of the kens, and the discussion of such measures of general interest as might require to be fixed and determined by local regulation; 2nd. matters of general interest to the kens and requiring legislation by the government; 3rd. matters merely political and requiring the action of His Majesty the Mikado.

In the first case, a regulation having been passed, it should be forwarded to the chiji or rei, and, if found not to infringe with the privileges of the government, it should be issued by him and enforced within the ken. In case of contest between any of the ken councils and the chiji or rei as to regulations framed by the former, the case would be referred to the Nai-

Mu-Sho ; and in case the department endorsed the chiji or rei, it should be sent to the Dai Shin in whose decision having been returned to the appellant through the Nai-Mu-Sho and the chiji or rei, within one month from its being rendered, would be promulgated and enforced within the ken.

As regard 2nd, matters of general interest to the ken requiring legislation by the government, or 3rd, matters of general politics requiring the action of the Emperor, such, for instance, as dissatisfaction with the administration of the Nai-Kaku, they should form the subjects of written representations which would need to be ratified by a vote of two-thirds of the council. Documents of the first category should be handed over to the one of the delegates of the representative district in the Min Shen Gi in residing the nearest to the ken the documents emanated from and it should be forwarded by him to the Nai-Kaku. Documents of the third class should be given to the one of the members of the Privy Council residing in the representative districts in which the ken is situated. Before I say what should become of this last paper, I must show how the laws should be made.

Before any bill could be sent to the Genro In by the Nai-Kaku, the same should first be elaborated by the Min Shen Gi in at the Nai-Kaku's



order, unless it be in cases hereafter stated, when—to become a law—it should not, necessarily, need the concurrence of the Min Shen Gi in. Thus a bill, having gone through this process of preparation in the Min Shen Gi in, would be returned to the Nai-Kaku which would, then, hand it to the Genro In or not at their discretion. But, if it were forwarded, it must be accompanied by the record of the deliberation of the Min Shen Gi in. Having passed the Genro In, the law should be returned to the Nai-Kaku.

If, in the estimation of the Nai-Kaku, the laws, thus passed by the Genro In, were faulty, the Nai-Kaku could veto them; but they should not be allowed to revise or amend them. A law, passed by the Genro In, having been vetoed by the Nai-Kaku, the latter house should send it to the Min Shen Gi in together with a statement of their reasons for vetoing it, and the Min Shen Gi in should be instructed to report whether in their opinion the veto ought to be removed or not. If the first, and the views expressed should be carried by a vote of two-thirds of the members present, the Nai-Kaku, having been informed of it, should promulgate the law without delay; but, if the second, they should return it to the Genro In with both a copy of the veto and the reasons in support of it, and also a record of the Min Shen Gi in's proceedings in the case. On receipt



of the message, the Genro In should forthwith deliberate upon it, or else, appoint a day when this might be done. But, if the Genro In persisted in their views, and the law was one that had relation,

*1st.* to laying or collecting taxes, duties imports and excises;

*2nd.* to paying the debts and providing for the general welfare of the empire ;

*3rd.* to borrowing money on the credit of the empire ;

*4th.* to regulating commerce with foreign nations ;

*5th.* to establishing rules of naturalization and laws of bankruptcies throughout the empire ;

*6th.* to coining money, regulating the value thereof and of foreign coin, or else fixing the standard of weight and measures ;

*7th.* to providing for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coins of the empire ;

*8th.* to establishing post-offices and post-roads ;

*9th.* to promoting, at public expense, the progress of science, industry, agriculture or useful arts by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries or establishing model-farms, or industrial establishments for the promotion of technical knowledge ;

*10th.* to the codification of national customs ; or the establishment of tribunals inferior to the Dai Shin in ; or the regulation of public expenditure of any sort ; or to works done in the interest of the state or municipalities, provisions for the poor, repression of misdemeanors or breach of regulations by fines, or kindred subjects, revision of the law regulating the election of the members of the Genro In, Min Shen Gi in or ken councils ; then, and in such cases, it should be the duty of the Nai-Kaku to forward the law to the Min Shen Gi in with instruction to take action upon it ; and it could not be promulgated unless it were passed by that house by a vote of two-thirds of the members present. But if it were so passed, then it would be the duty of the Nai-Kaku to promulgate it forthwith and as passed by the Min Shen Gi in.

But if the law were one that had reference to matters, such as are stated hereafter, or those kindred to them it need not be sent to the Min Shen Gi in ;—viz : Definition and punishment of acts constituting piracy and felony, or offences against the laws of nations ;—Declaration of war, grant of letters of marque and reprisal, and the making of rules concerning captures on land and support of standing armies, of a navy, or of a central police force, provided the expense of doing the same did not exceed appropriations made by

law ;—The making of treaties ;—The making of rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces and other public services ;—The making of all laws necessary for carrying into effect the foregoing powers, or other powers vested, by law, in the Nai-Kaku or in any other department of the executive branch or officers thereof. All such laws should be sent to the Mikado who would either remove or maintain the Nai-Kaku's veto. If the first, the law should be promulgated within a fixed day by the Nai-Kaku ; but, if the second, the bill should be considered lost.

Whenever His Majesty the Mikado would judge proper, he could dissolve the Min Shen Gi in and call upon the Delegate-Electors to elect a new house.

Each house, whether the Min Shen Gi in, or the Genro In, and the ken councils as well should keep a journal of its proceedings and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may, in their judgment, require secrecy ; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house, on any question, should, at the request of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal. Besides, the national press should be encouraged to publish regular records of their proceedings and, thus, whether the Nai-Kaku should make good use or not of the assistance afforded to it by these three bodies would be shown by the actual results



of their joint labors. Naturally, the industry of the Genro In in filling its duties, would be greatly influenced by that exhibited by the Nai-Kaku in which all the bills would originate. But while the people, being either benefited or injured in their interests by the <sup>administration</sup> ~~faults~~ of the Nai-Kaku, would be able to base their opinion of that body upon actual experience, the Mikado would have nothing practical to guide him but mere reports; and, thus, in serious cases in which he would be called upon to pass final judgments upon the official action of the Nai-Kaku, he must necessarily feel embarrassed for want of sufficient light before him.

It is in anticipation of such a possible contingency, and with a view to afford the people the facilities for redress, the want of which has been shown in chapter III <sup>7</sup>, that the creation of the Privy Council suggested itself. As we have seen, the representations made by the ken councils upon matters of general politics requiring the action of the Emperor, must be handed to one of the members of the Privy Council residing in the district in which the ken is situated. When, among such representations, there should be found any that had been passed by a two-thirds majority of the kens and that expressed a want of confidence in the Nai-Kaku, it should be the

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<sup>7</sup> See pages 70, 71 and following.

duty of the President of the Privy Council to forward a formal notification of the fact to His Majesty the Mikado, to the President of the Nai-Kaku, to the Genro In and the Min Shen Gi in. As to the Mikado, it would be binding upon him, in virtue of such a solemn oath as he took in 1868<sup>8</sup>, to dissolve the Nai-Kaku and appoint a new one. This would constitute the safety valve of which I spoke in chapter III<sup>9</sup> and through which all unusual popular pressure could expand otherwise than in such scenes of violence and bloodshed as desolated Japan last year.

Laws, having been enacted in due form should be promulgated in the name of the Emperor, and the In, Sho and Shi, with the municipalities and kens as assistants, and acting upon the directions of the Nai-Kaku, would be expected to execute them. Chiefs of departments would enjoy, in both the Genro In and the Min Shen Gi in, the privilege to advise or give information which they have in the Genro In under the terms of the regulations of the 14th of April, 1875<sup>10</sup>.

The judicial powers, under this system, would continue to be vested in the judges of both the Dai Shin in and inferior courts as presently organized.

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<sup>8</sup> See pages 31 and 32.

<sup>9</sup> See page 71.

<sup>10</sup> See note 17, page 50

And these judges should hold their offices during good behavior. The powers of the Dai Shin in should extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this organization, the laws of the empire, and treaties made or which may be made under their authority; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the Nai-Kaku, or any officers appointed by them were a party.

The trials of all crimes should be held in the ken where they were committed; but, when not committed within any ken, the trial should be at such place or places as may be fixed by law. But all such trials, whether before the Dai Shin in or other courts, should be public and conducted with all speed practicable in view of the furtherance of the ends of justice. This, we see, brings us to the application of the laws; and that is, we may well say, to one of the most difficult portions of our task.

There are a thousand professors, in the law schools of either Europe or America, that could aid the Japanese legislators in codifying the national customs or arranging rules of criminal procedure and generally placing the national legislative and judicial systems in harmony with the other improved circumstances of the empire. But, what is beyond the task of any one, either within or without the land, is to improvise the



many magistrates that must be sitting in the courts before any one can presume to say, that, there being laws in Japan, there is also, in the sense generally attached to the word, an administration of justice there. In this position it has occurred to me that it might be wise for Japan, during the fifteen or twenty years that it will take her to form a body of magistrates, to associate with the native judges, foreigners who would aid the former in properly fulfilling their functions. The engagement of these foreign attachés would be for fifteen or twenty years, after which their services could be dispensed with. But, during their term, they would be irremovable except for causes of the gravest nature, and, like Japanese subjects, they would be amenable to the laws and tribunals of the empire. They would be attached only to the higher courts of Osaka, Nagasaki, Miyagi and Tokio, or such as could be appealed to from the decisions of the local courts and, without their written assent, court verdicts, in a certain class of cases, would not be binding.

If these measures were decreed and, pending the revision of the existing treaties, H. M. the Mikado should invite transient immigration to direct its course towards Japan, his call, I feel quite sure, would be eagerly responded to from many quarters; and those whom it would induce

to come to Japan would be welcomed by the people. For under the new system of administration of justice, not only all desirable guarantee would be given to the class of respectable foreigners, whose co-operation the people would be interested to secure, but, besides, ample protection would be afforded to natives. In cases of their becoming associated with foreigners in business outside of the treaty ports, the approval of the terms of association by both native judges and one of the foreign assessors to one of the higher courts together with a record of the articles of partnership, thus approved, in the local court within whose jurisdiction the parties to this contract resided would be required.

The Nai-Kaku should be composed of the Dai-jo Dai-Jin, Sa Dai-Jin, U Dai-Jin, and of the heads of the several Departments, with the Dai-jo Dai-Jin and Sa Dai-Jin as President and vice-President respectively. Before taking their seals of office from His Majesty, these high officers should be required to take an oath before the Gods that they would fulfill their functions in the Nai-Kaku as required by law; that they would never, either directly or indirectly, interfere with the assembling of the Genro In, the Min Shen Gi in, or the ken councils; but, that, on the contrary, they would aid these bodies in the execution of their duties to the best of their knowledge and


ability; that they would never endeavor to deprive the kens of their freedom, nor the people therein of their natural rights, unless it be in case of rebellion or invasion of the territory, or as public safety otherwise rendered a resort to such extreme measures necessary; and that they would enforce all laws to the best of their ability; that, every year, at the opening of the deliberations of both the Genro In and the Min Shen Gi in, they would address these bodies upon the state of the country; and that they would cause such laws to be made as, in their judgment, would be best suited to the circumstances of the empire. The Nai-Kaku should appoint to all the offices in the government from lists furnished by the heads of departments; but all commissions should be issued in the name of the Mikado.

The members of the Privy Council should receive a salary from the Imperial Treasury. They should be expected to give their advice to the Sovereign without partiality or fear; to hold themselves free from corruption; to foster good and promote loyal feeling among the people, by themselves faithfully observing the laws and regulations decided upon, and, in case of need, by aiding in their enforcement by moral pressure upon the population. Besides, the Privy Council should be called upon to divide itself into temporary commissions for the consideration of any



business that does not come within the jurisdiction of any other branch of the government. It should assemble, also, after the ~~decease~~ of the Sovereign to proclaim his successor and to receive, from the latter, a re-affirmation, by oath taken before the Gods, of the franchises granted to the people by his predecessors. Finally, the Council might intervene in case of insanity of the Mikado, or of internal dissensions in the midst of the Imperial family. And they would also perform all such duties as are now in the province of the Ku-Nai-Sho. The latter, after the establishment of the Privy Council, should be abolished.

Whenever two-thirds of the several ken councils, through the Min Shen Gi in, should request a change to this temporary form of government, the Nai-Kaku should direct the Genro In to embody the desired change in a law; and the said law should be <sup>promulgated</sup> ~~enacted~~ by the Nai-Kaku, after it had been assented to by a two-thirds vote of the ken councils, called upon to meet for the purpose, and finally approved by His Majesty the Mikado.



STANFORD UNIVERSITY

## CHAPTER VIII.

### RECONSTRUCTION ( continued ).

The ancient and much revered principle of Imperial rule by delegation of powers to an individual or to a board, can be fully reconciled to the spirit of the Oath of 1868, and, therefore, it forms the basis of our plan of political reconstruction as presented in chapter VII. I say that this principle <sup>1</sup> agrees with the Oath, not because it is so expressly stated in the Oath but merely from the fact that the Oath is silent upon that subject, and, from its silence, I infer its assent to the principle. For it is logical to suppose that, if it had been the intention of the august writer of the Oath that Japanese sovereigns should retain more than general supervising powers or that they should exercise their powers contrary to the old principle of Japanese government, he would have granted a constitution to the nation wherein would have been carefully laid down and minutely explained all he wished to be done for the people; instead of which he merely issued the general

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<sup>1</sup> See page 135.



directions contained in the Oath, leaving for his servants to do, with regards to details, what his general instructions had left unprovided for. And, besides, this broad rule of government, as we have seen, reconciles itself with the principles <sup>2</sup> adopted by the best esteemed modern writers, and it was only that portion of the ancient national fabric that was barbarous which it entered into the designs of the writer of the Oath to abolish <sup>3</sup>. Another reason why the writer could never have had in contemplation the repeal of this sound rule, is that, if it were done away with, the sovereign, as anticipated by Mr. Shimadzu Saburo, must be made responsible for acts in which he has no participation <sup>4</sup> and from which, as Mr. Soyeshima so justly observes, the people are often exposed to suffer unbearable wrongs at the will of an irresponsible bureaucracy <sup>5</sup>. It is believed that a suitable remedy has been provided against this last evil by means of both the modification introduced in the mode of legislation <sup>6</sup>, combined with the substitution of the vote of want of confidence by the ken councils <sup>7</sup> for the barbarous expedient for

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<sup>2</sup> See page 74.

<sup>3</sup> See article 4th of the oath, page 32.

<sup>4</sup> See page ~~60~~. 59

<sup>5</sup> See pages 62, 63, 64, 65, 66 and 67.

<sup>6</sup> See pages 136, 137, 146 to ~~153~~. 152

<sup>7</sup> See pages 152, 153 and 154.

redress of grievances in past ages<sup>8</sup>. And, by the creation of both the ken councils and the Majorats, a considerable alleviation of the sufferings arising from an excess of centralization, as complained of by the late and most lamented Mr. Kido<sup>9</sup>, would be afforded to the provinces situated far away from the great centers of government, Tokio and Osaka.

With the emancipation of the kens from almost all control by the government in what relates to certain affairs, the responsibility of much of what is now done by the government, under the present system, would be borne by the people's servants in each ken; while the Min Shen Gi in, the Nai-Kaku and the Genro In would be made answerable for the rest; and in every case the Mikado would be held free from blame, his name, henceforward, never coming before the people except as that of a blessed father and protector. Neither would the creation of the Majorat system give less happy results. For if the Nobles' domains were judiciously located, with the view to industrial advancement in the several kens, they would necessarily become the centers from which information and enterprise would spread among the people<sup>10</sup>, and, thus, the

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<sup>8</sup> See pages 40, 41, 76, 77, 117, 118 and 119.

<sup>9</sup> See pages 60, 61 and 62.

<sup>10</sup> See chapter XI, first paragraph.

creation of the Majorats system would become the means of transforming into a garden of Heaven what to-day, the greater part of the three islands of Hondo, Shikoku and Kiushiu — not to speak of either Yesso or Riukiu — are, that is, a wilderness. I shall show, in chapter XI, what an immense field would be open, in this direction, to the kuwazoku by the institution of the Majorats.

I am aware that past experience would almost justify the apprehensions that, doubtless, will be entertained by many, that the kuwazoku would not be equal to the difficulties which such an undertaking will present. But, to my vision, these apprehensions are unfound<sup>ed</sup>; for we must remember that the kuwazoku class as well as the others are of the people; and, if we disqualify the former from undertaking their share of the work of national reconstruction, we must admit that the latter are incompetent also; besides which all hopes of reform must be given up, and Japan, for a long time to come, must be satisfied to live under the Dictatorship of 1871. This is a conclusion, however, which, in presence of the facts brought to light in chapter IV, is absurd<sup>11</sup>, and which the chiefs of the present bureaucracy could not admit without laying themselves open to the suspicion that, if they upset both the shogunate

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<sup>11</sup> See pages 109, 110, 111 and 112.



and the feudal systsm<sup>12</sup>, it was less with the idea of restoring both the government of the country to its legitimate owner and the freedom of ancient times to the people than to substitute their own authority for that of the fallen powers, contrary to their trust under the Oath; and, possibly, they would make themselves liable to blame and censure by His Majesty the Mikado. For it was His Majesty's will that, from the time he took the Oath, no one in the empire should deviate from the course prescribed by it, *not even himself*. By the terms of the Oath the chiefs of the bureaucracy are bound to use their power with a view to the maintenance of the rights of all classes; and one of the rights of the kuwazoku is that they shall be given all the opportunities that are consistent with public good to maintain their position in the state<sup>13</sup>. The opportunities that would be offered to the kuwazoku by the creation of the Majorats, are of that order. To my vision, unless those opportunities are given to the kuwazoku, and the same are improved by them, their existence as a class will be blighted. And from this, Imperial institutions could but suffer. For although those have gained by the overthrown of feudalism, the

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<sup>12</sup> See pages 32, 33 and 34.

<sup>13</sup> See pages 85, 86 and 87, and clause 3<sup>d</sup> of the Oath, page 32, also note 19, page 104 and following.

former could hardly exist without an aristocracy of some sort. But an aristocracy would cease to be a support to the throne unless it fulfilled some useful functions near it. Those that we have suggested are in every way worthy of the nobles ; as much so indeed as the profession of arms was of their ancestors. For I cannot see any difference between one who makes his country safe by his sword and one who insures its influence and power by his labor ; and that is what the aristocracy of to-day would do if they devoted themselves to the development of their Majorats with a view to the advancement of the interests of the kens. For, by this, they would contribute to the spreading, throughout the land, of the seeds of knowledge, prosperity and wealth ; and, in our days of ironclads, torpedoes, railroads, and other costly elements of strength, knowledge, prosperity and wealth, combined with the other requisites that Japan already possesses, would be equivalent to influence and power. However, the kuwazoku could not perform their task without the aid of the ken councils whose members, by their direct local influence and authority, could best induce the people to profit by both the examples of industry and exceptional opportunities which the incumbents of Majorats would give them.

One of the arguments against the creation of the ken councils will be, I presume, that the

people are too ignorant to take care of their own affairs. This is the eternal reply of governments to all requests, by individuals, for independence; a reply, however, which is always contradicted by facts <sup>14</sup>. If the state had a part in the administration of the people's private affairs, doubtless, in some cases, its action would be beneficial, but how much oftener would it prove disastrous? How many industrial establishments are in Japan, and how many of those that are under the care of individuals are prosperous? Nearly all. For if the latter were not flourishing they would not remain in existence. But, of those that are under the state's control how many are found to yield a profit, by the books of the O-Kura-Sho? Very few, if any. And thus is confirmed the principle

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<sup>14</sup> Edouard de Laboulaye.—This assertion of the eminent French publicist is verified by what comes under our daily observation in Japan. In Yokohama for instance, « Canal walls — we read in the *Japan Weekly Mail* of February 23, 1878 — owing to faulty construction crumble down without provocation every year, and the Bund has long since given up the attempt to contend with the annual storms and sinks into a mass of ruin with each recurring typhon. The bridges built of green wood begin to rot within six months of their completion and must by this time have cost ten times the first expense of stone bridges.»

The roads of the settlement have not been made nor are they kept with more skill, care or economy. Upon this subject Mr. J. Lescasse, a civil engineer well known in the East, where he has gained a rare experience, has published a valuable paper that was reproduced in *l'Echo du Japon* of the 27 of February 1878.



that unless an individual is left free to ruin himself, he will never prosper ; for it is in that freedom which, it is feared, may prove fatal to him that he will gain opportunities to enrich himself. And besides, let us revert in mind to the countries that are the pride of civilization, Athens, Rome, Venice, Florence, Flanders ; all of them had free municipal organizations. Now look at those states which, in spite of an apparent grandeur, sank without ever finding the force to raise themselves again, Egypt, Byzantium, India, Turkey ; they were countries in which every thing was done by the state. If experience is not a delusion we must concede that we always have to return to individual freedom <sup>15</sup>.

Neither can there be any apprehension that, if the kens were emancipated from the state with regard to the administration of their individual affairs, the old territorial aristocracy would rise again to power. For the functions of an aristocracy are regulated by the requirements of the times. Feudal aristocracy was born from military despotism under which the individual together with all he possessed was bound to his master. Under the new regime nothing of the kind would exist. For although the nobles would enjoy certain privileges which the other classes would not share, still they would have no direct or formal

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<sup>15</sup> Edouard de Laboulaye.

power over the people who, having become both free and responsible under a system of government founded upon impartiality and justice <sup>16</sup>, would be bound to their lords by no other liens than those that would spring from a community of interests and obligations for all to do their utmost, within their own spheres of action and in proportion to their forces, lights and means, for a common country. Thus, unlike what existed before 1871 <sup>17</sup>, under the Majorats system, all those, in the kens, who in reason could be said to have an interest in the commonwealth, as chiefs of families and landowners, either directly or by proxy, would have their voices in the administration of affairs, the Emperor, as the most interested in the State — as made apparent by tradition and the right of conquest derived from Jin-mu Ten-O,— having the casting vote <sup>18</sup>.

Thus constituted, with the nobles as the head of the people and as part of the people at the same time, Japanese society would become a body composed of various units strongly bound together, the object of whose functions in both private and

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<sup>16</sup> See art. 3 of the Oath.

<sup>17</sup> The daimiates were abolished in 1871, see pages 33 and 34.

<sup>18</sup> In this manner, the Imperial power would continue to be a divine fact for those who believed in the supernatural principles as conveyed by tradition; while for those who did not believe in those principles, it would be a mere historical fact to be legally asserted by force with the aid of all loyal subjects, when necessary.

public lives would be the performance of reciprocal duties and the observance of grave and pleasant responsibilities in the execution of which all, from high to low, would be equally interested. The most prominent among the ken's inhabitants, whether kuwazokus, shizokus, or heimins, would form a leading class from which the members of the ken councils and the municipal authorities as well would probably be selected, and in which the kuwazokus, through inspirations received from both above and below, would exercise a special and, at the same time, most salutary influence. As members of the Privy Council and as residents of the kens, they would be a sort of link between the Sovereign and the people, and they would be in a better position than any one else to maintain in perfect and constant harmony and accord the several elements of the public body.

What had made the feudal lords so powerful was less their intrinsic worth, at any time, than the prestige attached to their functions and the notion so generally spread among the people that upon their continuance in their executive duties, depended the safety of the commonwealth<sup>19</sup>. But now that this prestige has vanished and that all see that, without the aid of the old aristocracy the empire has grown stronger than it ever was,

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<sup>19</sup> See note, page 38.



the political hold which the nobles had upon the population has entirely given away.

In order to carry the loyal wishes of both Messrs. Shimadzu Saburo and Soyeshima that His Majesty the Mikado and His people should be shielded from the consequences of possible maladministration by the members of the Nai-Kaku, it was necessary to make the latter responsible for their acts. This, with the present form of national government which, as we have seen, the Oath made it imperative to preserve, was especially difficult. For the members of the Min Shen Gi in through whom the nation might have raised its voice, they being its delegates, were, at the same time, the servants of the very men the removal of whom it would have been their duty to secure<sup>20</sup>. And the act, although consistent with the duties they owed to the people, would have been inconsistent with those that bound them to the Nai-Kaku. But what the members of the Min Shen Gi in could not have done with propriety the nation itself could readily undertake. The position of the latter, as regards the Sovereign and his dynasty, under the most revered traditions, those indeed by the influence of which, as we have seen<sup>21</sup>, the Imperial sceptre is kept firm in the Mikado's hands, is peculiar. Truly, by

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<sup>20</sup> See pages 136, 148 and 149.

<sup>21</sup> See note 24, page 125.

these traditions, the dynasty is anterior and even superior to the nation ; for it is the dynasty that has made the country. But, at the same time, the Mikados can do nothing against or without the nation. The dynasty has rights upon the country, under these revered traditions ; but, under these same traditions, the nation has also rights upon the dynasty ; for the latter can exist only in connection with the former. And should the Mikado, either owing to the errors, neglect or crimes of those to whom his powers are delegated, ever fail to execute the sacred mandate which he has received from heaven, the nation would have the right to complain ; and thus we see the portion of our political mechanism, that refers to both the responsibility of the Nai-Kaku and the passing of the vote of want of confidence by the ken councils<sup>22</sup>, under the most respected texts of native constitutional law, is in order. For it is the nation that should be understood to speak whenever a vote of want of confidence should be passed by the ken councils. And besides, however irresistible the attitude of the people's representatives would be in such cases, it could not be held to imply, in the least degree, a want of respect on the part of His Majesty's servants and faithful subjects towards their Sovereign. For their action would be conformable

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<sup>22</sup> See pages 152, 153 and 154.

to standing orders issued from the throne with a view to the protection of its occupants, forever, against their own neglect or imprudence.

With regard to the passage of the vote of want of confidence by the ken councils, owing to the distance at which those whose votes must be secured are from each other, the influence of the press would be necessarily substituted for that of the tribune ; and the greater difficulties that would be encountered in making use of the former, as compared to the latter, are easily understood. But that would be an advantage rather than otherwise. For in passing the vote of want of confidence, the ken councils would not aim at the same results which representative assemblies in Europe have in view, when passing resolutions hostile to ministries, viz : to influence the politics of their government with regard to certain matters of detail. Their object would be to bring an end to a state of affairs which the nation had become unable to bear—a most serious step indeed. And the very difficulties encountered in securing the passage of the vote would constitute the best security that the measure would never be abused.

But however necessary it might be that the passage of the vote of want of confidence could not be too easily secured, it was not less important to make sure that when, in extreme cases, the nation's voice should rise it would not be in



vain. The guarantee that it would be promptly listened to must be derived either from the letter of a constitutional enactment or from absolute power given to the people to enforce a hearing of their complaints. Our reasons for inclining to the latter are apparent. The weakness of constitutional securities, in actual practice, is well known. No nation ever trusted more to that kind of guarantees than France — with what results we have already had occasion to say in former chapters — and no country less than England<sup>25</sup>. As a matter of course the British people were bound to record every successive progress they made on the road to political freedom ; but they never placed more dependence on these records than they deserved. Even the *magna charta*, they regard in no other light than that of a personal contract between themselves and their rulers, liable to be disregarded by the latter whenever favorable opportunities occur. Hence their care in renewing it at the commencement of so many reigns in order to make it binding upon every successive sovereign. Lord Coke reckons no less than thirty-two of these successive confirmations and they all fixed in the minds of men an inseparable connection between the grant of supplies and the means of redress for grievances. The house of commons put forth,

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<sup>25</sup> Chapters I and V.

at different periods, the claims to its peculiar privileges and its general powers. As early as the reigns of Richard II <sup>24</sup> and Henry VI <sup>25</sup>, we find it refusing to proceed in the public business without a sufficient answer <sup>26</sup>. Its action in these cases was never long resisted, as it would have been suicidal for the British kings to have done so ; but not more so than it would be for the Mikados to turn a deaf ear to the vote of want of confidence passed by the ken councils. For we must remember that it would enter into the powers of both the Min Shen Gi in and the Genro In to vote the budget ; and, if the sovereign could so far forget himself as to fail to fulfill his Oath, the Min Shen Gi in would be justified in refusing its co-operation with him till he had complied with the nation's wishes.

I now come to the election of the members of both the Min Shen Gi in and the ken councils. Our reasons to have those elected by delegate-electors instead of directly by the people, are apparent. At all times the people of Japan have looked upon their masters as their guides ; and for years to come yet, yielding to habits of old, in all serious undertakings they will look to some one above them for guidance. And it is natural to suppose that, in the absence of their former lords, their choices will fall upon those prominent

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<sup>24</sup> 1377—1399.—<sup>25</sup> 1422—1471.—<sup>26</sup> William Empson.

men who, by the weight of their personal worth and superiority, will be naturally brought to the front as a sort of moral masters and directors<sup>27</sup>; and those are the men whom they would select to represent them, as Delegate-Electors, at the elections of the members of both the ken councils and the Min Shen Gi in<sup>28</sup>. And owing to the large number of Delegate-Electors that would have to be elected, the selections made in such cases would probably include the whole body to be chosen for the higher house<sup>4</sup>. But while the qualifications of these superior men as <sup>a</sup>body, would be easily perceptible to all, the shades of merit by which some of them would recommend themselves to the Delegate-Electors for election to seats in either the ken councils or the Min Shen Gi in, would require a keener perception than at present distinguishes the masses. It may be that, in return for those advantages, the result of the elections would prove at first too aristocratic. But, to our vision, this would not be an inconvenience for, as we believe, it would tend to bring to the front such persons as we have spoken of in chapter IV, and who, as we know, would recommend themselves by an intellectual and moral superiority; and, being such, those persons would be better fitted than any others, to lead the nation,

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<sup>27</sup> See pages <sup>168</sup>188 and <sup>170</sup>189.

<sup>28</sup> See page 141.



now that its aspirations are about to be unfolded under the circumstances foreseen in chapter IV <sup>29</sup>, and by the means which, in anticipation of the people's gradual advance towards maturity, have been provided in the concluding paragraph of chapter VII <sup>30</sup>. This result, I need not say, a system of direct suffrage would never give.

It is not without reasons that I have made it an absolute condition of competency that electors should have, at least, one male child either issued from marriage or adopted. For upon the number of grown and educated men in the population, depends in a great measure national wealth and power; each male adult being, like anything else that is susceptible of production, an accumulated capital representing all the advances required to rear and educate him and bring him to the point which he has attained at that age, and in which he will be capable of producing so much for the nation. And that is why a reduction in the population, as tending to reduce the sources of production, is considered so injurious to the welfare of nations, and why every thing that is apt to encourage its increase is so much favored. The Jews had nothing else in view when they honored fecundity. At Rome laws after laws were enacted to encourage marriage.

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<sup>29</sup> See pages 111 and 112.

<sup>30</sup> See page 159.

There, the consideration a citizen enjoyed was in proportion to the number of children he had.

It may be objected that, by making the possession of male children, the main instrument of production, and of land, the main source of wealth, the leading qualifications for electors, I evidenced a marked partiality for agriculture, arts and manufactures in preference to exterior commerce. Still nothing of the kind exists. What I thought was this: that, since there can hardly be any exterior commerce in Japan if, in it, there is nothing to trade in, and, certainly, nothing to trade in, if there is nothing produced from the soil, it has seemed to me that, for the Mikado to give too great encouragement to exterior commerce before the interior resources of the country are developed, would be, in reality, doing the very worst thing possible towards furthering the interests of foreign trade. For, by unduly diverting the capital of the people from the work of developing the resources of the country, he would be depriving commerce of the very elements required for its support. And, besides, home industry is much more important to Japan than foreign trade; for while there could not be any just and durable wealth or power in the country without interior industrial activity, there could be much of both without an extensive exterior trade, if only the resources of the country were fully developed.

In may be objected also that, by our system of representation, excellent men, who in every way are qualified to exercise the duties to which the most responsible chiefs of families, or their substitutes would be eligible, are totally excluded by the fact of their being too poor to fulfill the conditions of eligibility to both the functions of Delegate-Electors and electors. This, however, would not be the case, necessarily, in practice. In France it has long been the rule that no one could be an elector or be elected to sit in the halls of national representation unless he paid a land tax of some importance, and, thus, many worthy men were theoretically at one time, excluded from both the polls and the political representation; and were in fact, so excluded, until their merits becoming known, the people, by placing sufficient property in their names, removed the disability. The same could be done in Japan with regard to those who under the conditions I am considering, would not be eligible to the positions for which they would be, otherwise, so well qualified.

It would also appear that, under our mode of election, Delegate-Electors must necessarily be drawn from among a super-annuated class of persons, the conservative tendencies of whom would deprive the several delegations from lights which a more progressive element might afford



them. This however, we believe, is not to be apprehended with the option we give to the chiefs of families of sending their sons to the polls as their permanent substitutes; it being customary in Japan with old men to retire from the direction of family affairs after transferring the same to one of the male children, with the understanding that they shall be provided for as *Inkio* (independent gentlemen) for the rest of their days; and it is to the sons of these persons, that is to men in all the vigor of both mind and body, that, in many cases, would devolve the duties of Delegate-Electors. Again, under the system of general consultation, in important cases, among the members of the Japanese household not only the male children who have attained the age of manhood, but, confidential servants as well the conservative element that would represent the family at the elections, in the fabric we have described, would never be apt to have the sweeping influence which, under similar circumstances, would be left to it in other countries.

The Nai-Kaku could never perform its work of national reconstruction with lights solely derived from the Min Shen Gi in, however well selected that assembly might be. For, in this task, this high directing body must be aided by the whole nation; and the Min Shen Gi in, although elected by the whole people, would represent but a

portion of the empire. For a nation is necessarily composed of two essential elements : — 1st. the people taken individually and as simple units ; 2d. the social functions, the various groups, etc. One single chamber like the Min Shen Gi in, named by the suffrage of the people or their delegates, taken as simple units, possibly may not contain a single magistrate, general, professor or administrator. Such an assembly, therefore, may not represent what may be called the moral influences of the country which these several groups of persons form <sup>31</sup>. Thus, it is absolutely necessary that by the side of such an assembly elected by the people without distinction of professions, titles or social classes, there be another body representing the various capacities, the various interests without which, as we have seen in chapter I <sup>32</sup>, there is no organized society possible. The Genro In, in our system, would be that assembly.

The mode adopted by us for the formation of this high chamber is readily explained. From the nature of the services the Genro In is expected to render under <sup>the</sup> present peculiar circumstances of the empire, it will be understood that its members would have less occasion to guard in their integrity those institutions or interest

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<sup>31</sup> Ernest Renan.

<sup>32</sup> See pages 12 and 13.

which, in western countries, are called permanent than to take good heed to the incessant change now going on in the empire, and by which certain interests or prejudices, for instance the Imperial institutions or the people's harmless fancies, for or against certain things, may not be unnecessarily affected. And, therefore, the lights that might have been thrown on discussions of which these changes would be the subject in the halls of the Genro In by men selected without regard to their former experience, and appointed for life, as are, in England for instance, the members of the house of lords, could have been but deceptive. And that is why the members of the Genro In, under our plan, are to be appointed from the several representative districts, and for short terms, so that not only the lights they may afford may be local, but, moreover be often renewed. It would rest with the government to see that the persons selected had the required wisdom.

The grouping of the people into representative districts regardless of ken divisions, by rendering possible the union of the several elements of the population, having the same territorial interests, and spread over the old clans grounds, would afford the electors singular facilities for transacting their business in the old style, without



for all that, as we have seen, giving them any of the old power of mischief.

We doubt not that the feature of our plan by which the Dai-Jins, as members of the Nai-Kaku, would be made liable to fall from their high positions at the will of the people, will be criticized as too radical. For it is yet the law in Japan that only the princes of the blood, the kuge's and the former territorial nobles can be appointed Dai-Jin<sup>33</sup>; and the ultimate result of the innovation we propose to introduce would be to make these positions accessible to all classes. To our vision, however, this would prove rather an advantage than otherwise. For, at the present critical stage of the nation's existence, the best men must be at the helm; and we believe that the mechanism we have devised is apt to place

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<sup>33</sup> See pages ~~24, 25~~, 35 and 36, also note 4, FOURTH, page 87. I may add that it is an article of the Sinto faith that nobody but those in whose veins Imperial blood runs are capable of great deeds. Thus are explained the efforts made by all Sintoists writers to prove that Taiko Sama was of the generation of the Emperors. We read in the *Dai-Nippon-Kaibiyaku-Yurai-iki* :

Among the ancient and the modern heroes who have been raised to the rank of general-in-chief, and held great power in the country, there has never been a man related to a common person. Thus *Taira-no-kiyomori* was of the generation of the Emperor, and the *Udaisho of Kamakura*, *Hojio*, *Shogun Ashikaga* and *Ufuota* were all descendants of the Emperors. From this the conclusion is forced upon us that *Taiko* must have been of the same generation as the Emperor, as is written in the *Tai-on-ki*, and that it is not proper for the people to say : *Taiko* was a man who was gradually promoted from the lowest rank, having first been a common laborer.

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## CHAPTER IX.

### RECONSTRUCTION ( continued ).

If the Japanese were really as stationary as they are said by some to be, the plan of temporary reconstruction we have submitted, would exhibit a radical defect to which there would be no possible correctives. For it would tend to place Japan, with regard to progress, in conditions that would be worse than those in which she now is. We have urged the extension of individual freedom and the contraction of the powers of the central government, while the reverse is wanted. For if, indeed, the people are stationary by nature, the more freedom is given to them the more fixed in <sup>their</sup> ~~the~~ way, also, they will remain. Conservatism is their fancy, and they have been placed in the condition in which they can give themselves to it best. In fact, what was apt to make them change, if this was to be done at all, was a still greater intervention by the state in their individual affairs than they, now, submit to. For if the state's intrusion is objected to, on principle, in the case of progressive races, it is



because it unnecessarily keeps them back ; and if with those that are conservative it is sought after, it is as a means to bring about the desired changes in their tendencies. With the former, as a rule, the state's interference can only be a drag, while, with the latter, it becomes a stimulant that is indispensable and which would be especially beneficial in Japan just now, for the men in power there are progressive while we suppose the people to be naturally stationary.

However I see no evidence that the Japanese are so opposed to progress. True enough, the people are slow in submitting themselves to the forces that have thrown us into the restless kind of life we lead. But this is not owing to an organic disposition, to be accounted for by a peculiarity of race, or one that has been brought about by climate—and, which, therefore, is irremediable—but it has been acquired through customs, and there are no reasons why it might not be corrected by a change of practice. Indeed, if the Japanese were stationary by nature they would have never changed their course, as we know from their history they have done repeatedly. If they are merely imitative, when, in the seventh century, they came in contact with China, they would have been satisfied with copying her ; and this, as we know they have not done<sup>1</sup>. Now what

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<sup>1</sup> See pages 2, 3 and 130.

happened to Japan, in this case, is what would have befallen any nation, under similar circumstances, however original and progressive it might have been. If we look back, we see her, at the end of the 16th century, when her flag was yet flying everywhere, from the straits of Lapeyrouse to the gulf of Bengal, at Chefoo, Foochow, Formosa, the Philippines and Siam, exhibiting the same degree of enterprise as characterized the most advanced nations of that time. But suddenly, after 1600, having been violently withdrawn from this field, we find her forcibly kept in the same groove for nearly 300 years, and leading an existence in which every channel of activity was as minutely and strictly marked out as is yet practiced in China<sup>2</sup>, and excluding

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<sup>2</sup> In China the various ceremonies to be observed in marriage, funerals and mourning, hospitalities, religious worship, the conduct of hostilities, the shape of houses, the measures of capacity, of length and weight, are fixed by law. To make any innovation in those things is a capital offence. (See the Canon of Shun, part 8, and the Doctrine of the Mean, Ch. XXVIII). Iyeyasu wrote in his Legacy: « Petitions having in view the recovery of land should be taken into consideration, \*\*\*; but if there exist the slightest objection, according to ancient usages, it is strictly prohibited to entertain them. » (Chapt. XVI). « In the absence of precedent, forbid the making of new ground, new water courses and so forth, and the framing of any new measures of what kind soever. Know that disturbances always arise from such innovations. » (Chap. XVII). And again: *It is forbidden to alter a faulty regulation* if, through inadvertency, it has been allowed to remain in force during fifty years. » (Chapt. XVIII).



necessity for reflection or mental labor among the several classes. Thus the agriculturist knew that just enough rice must be produced to satisfy the requisitions of his lord, and his own wants ; and the rice was produced accordingly. With him there were no such anxieties and thoughts about distant markets to which his crops might be shipped with a view to the realization of a larger profit, as burdened the mind of his European contemporary. Unless he was told to produce more than usual, or to dispose of his crops in a different way from that dictated by the routine of years gone by, he had no conception that there might be reasons why he should do so. With the manufacturer it was, in a measure, very much the same. He had no possible requirements of foreign countries to anticipate, no rival industries to frustrate in meeting exceptional demands, no unusual facilities of communication to avail himself of in the furtherance of his enterprise and daring, and the baffling of competition. The activity of those agents of production was, therefore, circumscribed within the narrowest limits ; and the more so that each had its specialty. As many functions as there were in the great work of production, as many men were required to perform them. Every individual in each class had his life's duties marked out in advance. Not only man but the soil itself was limited. This



province made a specialty of bronzes, that of porcelain, this of silk and that of lacquer<sup>3</sup>. The local rulers had the right, which they often exercised, of preventing the exit from their dominions, not only of the products of industry and agriculture, but even of the producers themselves. All in the empire were forbidden to entertain relations with outsiders. And, in order to make sure that this system of absolute national seclusion should be strictly enforced, the shape of sea-going vessels was carefully altered so as to render them unfitted for distant voyages; and all foreigners, landing in Japan, except the Dutch, at Nagasaki, who were kept from holding free communications with the natives, were to be put to death. Even China had never been submitted to such a regime. However, the people became gradually so accustomed to this mode of existence that it would have been difficult to induce them to give it up; for knowing that, by constantly keeping themselves in readiness to meet the calls expected in the regular order of things the various necessities of life would never fail them, they were satisfied with their lot. This indifference to every thing but the indispensable, together with the firm belief, which a large number of them still entertain, that they were living in the land of the Gods governed by God-man, gradually induced the idea among all

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<sup>3</sup> See Appendix B.

that, to act otherwise, would be impious in the sight of that Heaven from which their blessings were derived. It was only at rare intervals that the fancy or caprice of the lords of the land could break the monotony. When a new palace was built, a distinguished guest received, or a noble's son or daughter married, then special work was required. But to meet such demands, only a little more labor or skill than ordinary <sup>was</sup> ~~very~~ wanted. Certainly no unusual combination of trade was demanded; and if the experience of any one engaged in the production of these special demands profited, it was only that of the mechanics who, naturally enough, had the ambition to gain distinction for their goods by the exhibition of some uncommon skill and ability in their manufacture. Thus, the people were gradually led into what may be styled a mechanical sort of existence in which all individuality was bound to disappear; and, by the force of habit, conservative tendencies were substituted, in every one, for the inventive and progressive disposition that, though as I believe natural to the race, is now found wanting in it. Under this regime, the aptitude of the nation for certain branches of spade husbandry, horticulture, construction of goods, wares, instruments and the like, and retail trade, became unusually great; but no field was given wherein to acquire any skill in husbandry conducted with

the help of machinery and animals, or in manufactures requiring inventive powers, or in large commerce. Still we have, as a guarantee that Japan will rapidly advance in those latter branches of human activity, its past success in the former.

However, this happy prognostic should not make the people blind to their true state; and they should not lose sight of the fact that our sciences are not to be acquired, and their application to arts and manufactures is not to be made as readily as were those of China. The Chinese encyclopedia of sciences and technical knowledge is a mere record of signs, or *kuwas*, and of receipts: ours is one of laws and principles, rules and receipts being mere accessories. While, with the Chinese, the *kuwas* are invariable algebraic symbols which, by being laboriously combined in the fashion of mathematical formulas, give the solution to all kind of problems <sup>4</sup>; and the knowledge of their prescribed rules forms a base which is ever found ready whereupon to build by whoever has perseverance, ordinary skill and memory; with us the *kuwas* are called chemistry,

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<sup>4</sup> See Appendix A, also explanatory note.—The Chinese have symbolized human wisdom by two characters, 中 (*chun*) and 庸 (*yun*) which mean, *chun*, medium, and *yun*, constanter tenendum, that is, constantly keep the mean. From the above symbol is to be deducted the whole system of Confucius. (See *scienciæ Sinicæ*, liber inter Confucii libros secundus, page 1st, MDCLXXII.)



natural philosophy, botany, legislation, mathematics, jurisprudence, mechanics, astronomy, engineering, technical arts, etc., etc. Those instead of being always found available in a few books written by man, have to be deciphered with difficulty from a work open to all, it is true, but for all that most difficult to read, which we call Nature. And thus the field of investigation is so immense, the obstacles encountered in surveying it so great, that we have had to apportion the task among many, each taking one kuwa, or branch of knowledge, as his lot, and devoting his whole life to it. Again our laws, or principles, are variable and they form a foundation upon which the operator, however skillful, never feels safe. Besides mere memory, which he needs, an ever active ingenuity and powerful faculty of reflection and logic to replace or rebuild the ever changing basis. Thus we see while, with the Chinese, the field of investigation never extends<sup>5</sup>, with us it never ends. For, no sooner have we attained one result, that another must be looked for. Our knowledge partakes of its source<sup>6</sup>. It exists

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<sup>5</sup> See Appendix A, ~~first page~~. *The Kikuchi* OK page 270

<sup>6</sup> La nature n'est pas une masse inerte ; elle est pour celui qui sait se pénétrer de sa sublime grandeur, la force créatrice de l'univers, force sans cesse agissante, primitive, éternelle, qui fait naître dans son propre sein tout ce qui existe, périt et renaît tour à tour. — (Schelling).

on condition that it will ever change. Thus, we are without rest in our efforts to reach higher and higher sources of information, the means of doing it varying, improving and ever changing as our knowledge of truth varies, improves and changes. Ever since the times of Foh-he<sup>7</sup>, the Chinese classics and their kuwas have never changed; while, with us, since the days of Roger Bacon<sup>8</sup>, Galileo<sup>9</sup>, Copernicus<sup>10</sup>, Newton<sup>11</sup>, Huygens<sup>12</sup> and others by whom the modern process of investigation was inaugurated, a few generations ago, exact sciences have been revised twenty times over. If Foh-he should come to the world again, he would still be a master. While if the great men I have just named, were here to-day, they could not take their degrees in the schools in which the sciences, discovered by them, are taught. In Europe and America a youth of twenty, just out of school, may be termed a man of knowledge, but he will be almost ignorant at sixty unless he has kept studying in the interval. In China, on the contrary, one who has passed his degree of doctor, has reached the end of his studies so far as knowledge of texts is concerned. The latter might live a thousand years and be no more advanced at the end of his life than he

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<sup>7</sup> See page 12, note 9.

<sup>8</sup> 1561-1626—<sup>9</sup> 1564-1642—<sup>10</sup> 1483-1543—<sup>11</sup> 1642-1727—

<sup>12</sup> 1629-1695.

was in youth. And thus China, that can now boast fifty centuries of existence, can not compare, in technical knowledge, with the United States that can count but one.

So if Japan should learn, during the next ten years, all that has ever been published in science in Europe or America to the present day, and if it were to be initiated in all the applications of these sciences or discoveries, it would still be ten years behind as regards knowledge, and, as regards other requisites, considerably more so. Nothing of this kind was experienced by it previous to the period of Meiji. What the nation learned in the days of Ojin Ten-O<sup>13</sup>, it has been constantly repeating till the course of its activity was changed in 1867. During these thirteen hundred years, all in the empire, whether statesmen, manufacturers, artists, agriculturists or

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<sup>13</sup> Chinese sciences were first introduced in Japan in the days of Ojin Ten-O, 270-310 A.D., and according to native historians, under the following circumstances: Ojin Ten-O was very clever in his young days and diligent to learn. He asked Atoyi, the son of the King of Akusai (one of the ancient divisions of Corea), and a very learned man, if there was any one more learned than himself; he replied that Wani was a great scholar. The Ten-O, therefore, sent Arasawaki to bring the great professor to this country; and when he came he brought with him ten volumes of Rongo (the moral philosophy of China) and the Senjomon (a book of 1000 words). Thus were the Chinese sciences first introduced in our country and they proved very useful in showing how to govern the nation (*Dai Nippon Kaibiyaku Yurai-iki*).



artisans, almost invariably performed their tasks in the same manner. It will be different hereafter. Whatever of our arts, sciences, or manufactures, may be learned to-day by the Japanese student, although it will be of use, will be found insufficient to him in gaining his ends twenty years hence. And it is only after Japan's present generation has completed its course of theoretical studies and after the shoots, now cut by her from our several branches of knowledge, shall have been firmly fastened upon its trunk, and the newly inserted grafts have perfectly united with it, that the country may be expected to support and nourish them with its own substance and make them fruitful. But, in the interval, it will still need our aid. And this in virtue of a law, the correctness of which not only logic, but history teaches us; by which circumstances, otherwise inexplicable, of certain countries are made clear. Thus we understand how it happens that nations that have attained a high degree of progress and enlightenment are not yet entirely self-supporting with regard to certain productions. Although they may raise, in abundance, some of the most valuable staples used in manufactures in great demand among them, they still must call upon neighboring countries to transform those into the shape in which they are made available to their people. Such is the case with

the United States, as regards cotton, where large quantities of an excellent quality are produced, and the construction of machinery has reached a degree of perfection that can hardly be excelled, and still the people have not yet succeeded in converting into manufactured articles, either for home consumption or for export, all they can grow of this product of their soil.

In 1868 the export of raw cotton from the United States, exceeded 1,961,909 bales of 400 lbs. each, valued at \$151,820,733, from a total crop of 2,700,000 bales; while, in 1869, the crops exceeded 3,000,000 bales and the export was not far from 2,000,000 bales<sup>14</sup>. With the manufacture of wool it is the same. In 1869, there were 37,724,279 sheep in the United States, valued at \$82,139,979; and the fact has been developed, by the most elaborate scientific researches, that the climate and soil of the country are better adapted to the growth of fine long wools suitable for cloth manufactures than those of any other country, and the article produced in America excels the Australian wool<sup>15</sup>. And yet, with all these advantages, up to 1840, nineteen twentieths of the cloths and cassimeres, consumed in the country, were of foreign manufacture. In 1868, the aggregate importations of

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<sup>14</sup> One hundred years progress, Vol. I, page 124.

<sup>15</sup> One hundred years progress, Vol. I, page 313.

this article from Germany, Belgium, France and England were \$7,139,605 <sup>16</sup>, although, in that year, the total supply of wool from native growth was 102,000,000 lbs. And yet, the first attempts made in raising sheep and manufacturing woollen goods are not of late date. The first sheep that were imported in the United States were probably those taken into Virginia in 1609 <sup>17</sup>, and the first encouragement given to home manufacture of cloth from wool goes as far back as 1765 <sup>18</sup>. I could multiply examples indefinitely.

The only way a nation can shorten the trials of this transitory state is by identifying its interest with individuals belonging to countries that have already attained their full development. To such an expedient England, Germany, France and the United States, in the days gone by, have had to resort. No such facilities as Japan now has however were afforded them. England and Germany are indebted to the possession of their present industry and trade to a mere chance that threw in her midst the most valued skill of France at the time (1685) the French king, Louis XIV, issued the famous revocation of the edict of Nantes and 50,000 families,—some say more—left their homes, taking refuge in Holland, England,

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<sup>16</sup> One hundred years progress, Vol. I, page 312.

<sup>17</sup> One hundred years progress, Vol. I, page 59.

<sup>18</sup> One hundred years progress, Vol. I, page 300.



Switzerland and Germany, carrying with them the secrets of French industry and its wealth. They were received everywhere with open arms ; and those who had no means were furnished with funds and advantageous establishments. One quarter of London was populated with workmen expert in the manufacture of silk, of crystal, and of steel ; and, soon after, the first rank in those branches of industry reverted to England. Berlin became a city ; the soil of Prussia, until then untilled, was put under cultivation ; and the refugees gained such an influence in the councils of Frederick the Great that Prussia obtained a weight in Europe which she had never had before <sup>19</sup>. When, later, France endeavored to regain her former manufacturing and commercial prosperity, she had to hold out the greatest inducements to natives of those same countries to which she had banished her artisans and mechanics, to come and assume the direction of her workshops. Even to-day in both Russia and the United States, many foreigners are in charge, as directors, foremen, or mechanics, of industries and arts which, though introduced long ago, could not yet be expected to prosper without such aid, and

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<sup>19</sup> La reine Christine de Suède avait bien raison de dire, à l'occasion de la révocation de l'Édit de Nantes, que Louis XIV s'était coupé son bras gauche avec son bras droit (Traité d'Économie Politique, par J. B. Say, Paris, 1861, page 233).

liberal inducements have been and are yet offered to men of talent, of foreign birth, to settle permanently there and become naturalized. The result of this has been the rapid growth of the industries of America and Russia, so much so that the former, in many articles of production, has become a most troublesome rival to England, and the latter bids fair to soon emancipate herself from British monopoly. She has already absorbed the trade of England in Central Asia. • Probably if Russia had followed a different course she would now have not only no commerce, no railroads, no communications of any magnitude, in short, no such power or wealth as she can boast of, but, probably besides, she would have squandered, in costly experiments, the greatest portion of the resources which were necessary to make a beginning.— And if the United States has made such rapid progress in one single century, it is in a measure because it has made itself the home of all the lights, all the energies, all the forces of the world, which found in its midst a field of activity that had been denied to them elsewhere.

Such are facts. And yet there are people who advise the Japanese to divert the current of western immigration from their shores. They argue that if the countries we have named have been benefited by the influx of foreigners it is

because of an identity between their people and the immigrants, implying a community of feelings, customs, manners and dispositions, without which the one would not have assimilated with the other, and both could not have forced the homogeneous union from which they derive their present prosperity and strength. And, inasmuch as Japanese and westerners differ from each other, not only as regards to race, but as to those peculiarities without a community of which not only perfect assimilation but even life in common is impossible, they express the fear, that, if the empire were once open to western enterprise, it might become the rendez-vous of a class of persons who would come to reside temporarily in it only to send back to their native land whatever wealth they might accumulate; so that the wealth that would be developed by this transient immigration would not prove a gain as it does when the immigration is permanent.

However much people may differ as to the wealth to be derived from foreign immigration in the sense of the word as illustrated in the nations of the American continent, Japan, from her geographical area, from her numerical strength, does not need a great influx of the ordinary class of immigrants. What Japan should seek most, at present, should be facilities for her people to possess the means of satisfying the wants which



are being rapidly created by the social changes that take place in her midst, and of gaining the knowledge, prosperity and wealth without which she will never have any real influence in the comity of nations. And if the Europeans or Americans that should come to Japan and settle there for fifteen or twenty years, should assist, within that time, in enabling the country to produce these commodities and to gain this knowledge, prosperity and wealth, we may say that immigration has fulfilled its task. Now that is just what transient immigration will do. And although it can give this assistance to Japan, it does not lie within its power to afterwards deprive her of the fruits it will yield. For, if we admit that it could take those away, we must also admit that it could take the portion of the territory where the immigrants had operated; and not only the territory but the people with whom they had been associated and who had been made skillful and prosperous by their presence in the empire;—and that would be absurd. We have no inclination to dispute the fact that transient immigration will carry away with itself when it leaves Japan, after its task is done, a certain wealth; but this will be only the just percentage, so to speak, of the wealth developed by its co-operation; a compensation which services of the kind should always receive. And it should

be paid without regret, for, as an old rule says :  
*The laborer is worthy of his hire.*

It would be folly to entrust to the state the task we propose to have fulfilled by transient immigration; for not only would the operation prove a heavy drain upon the Japanese treasury, but we all know what moral decline is in store for a country whose government, in violation of the principles we have laid down <sup>20</sup>, has invaded the wide field of activity left unexplored by the individual; the intrusion tending as it does to place the individual in opposition to the state by whose superior power the former is inevitably crushed, and, with him, the country whose very substance and life he is <sup>21</sup>.

So we see once more that in the task of national reconstruction, as applied to industry, Japan could not be guided by better examples than those we have placed before her in the preceding pages. And it is in view of the necessity for her to follow these examples that the suggestions we made for judicial reforms in chapter VII <sup>22</sup>, find their justification. For, from judicial reform, to a very great extent, depends the future prosperity of this empire. Certainly this prosperity could not be readily insured

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<sup>20</sup> See chapter V, page 116 and following.

<sup>21</sup> See chapter V, page 115 and 116.

<sup>22</sup> See page 155 to 158.

through any expedient of which such reform would not be a part. Indeed, with the view of protecting newly-born industries, through intelligent and firm diplomacy, freedom of tariff can be restored and, with it, a satisfaction due to national honor can also be obtained; the exhausting efflux of precious metals from the country can be regulated; the land can be so closed to foreign intrusion that not even a yard of cotton or a pound of indigo can be taken into it by a foreign hand; the finances of the country may ever be administered with economy and skill; — all these, however, would prove of little or no avail, unless the needed judicial reform is decreed also. For the people would still be without that fruitful force to which His Majesty the Mikado attaches so much importance in the fifth clause of the Oath of 1868<sup>23</sup> and which can be introduced only after judicial reforms have been made<sup>24</sup>.

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<sup>23</sup> See pages 31 and 32, note 5.

<sup>24</sup> See pages 156, 157 and 158.





STATE OF NEW YORK  
IN SENATE  
JANUARY 11, 1906.  
REPORT  
OF THE  
COMMISSIONER OF THE LAND OFFICE  
IN RESPONSE TO A RESOLUTION  
PASSED BY THE SENATE  
MAY 1, 1905.  
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## CHAPTER X.

### THE KUWAZOKU'S NEW FIELD.

If it is true that agricultural industry offers the best investment for national capital<sup>1</sup>, then, the kuwazoku have, for the fulfillment of their mission, as traced in some of the preceding pages<sup>2</sup>, one of the most desirable fields that they could wish for.

The total area of Japan exclusive of Yesso and the Riu-Kiu Isles, according to our calculation is 27,949,779 cho<sup>3</sup>; out of which, according to statistics procured at the O-Kura-Sho (1875), but 4,091,113 cho are cultivated. Of the uncultivated portion, 325,334 cho belong to individuals who

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<sup>1</sup> Le capital le plus avantageusement employé pour une nation est celui qui féconde l'industrie agricole; celui-là provoque le pouvoir productif des terres du pays. Il augmente à la fois les produits industriels et les produits fonciers. (Traité d'Économie Politique etc. etc. par Jean-Baptiste Say, Paris 1861).

<sup>2</sup> See pages 137, 138, 163 and 164.

<sup>3</sup> According to Théophile Lavallée (Géographie physique et militaire, Paris 1860). Hondo has 4,031, Kiushiu 688 and Sikok 391 square miles of 15 to the degree. Separate calculations of the area of these islands in nautical miles, statute miles and cho give the following results, the difference being

pay taxes on it, while the remainder, or 23,533,332 cho, are held by the Crown, or by mura or individuals in whose hands it remains unproductive.

explained by the neglect to employ a sufficient number of decimals in the conversion of the different measures :

|         | SQUARE<br>MILES <sup>15</sup><br>TO THE DE-<br>GREE. | STATUTE<br>MILES.                   | NAUTICAL<br>MILES. | CHO<br>BY STATUTE<br>MILES. | CHO<br>BY NAUTICAL<br>MILES. |
|---------|--|-------------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| HONDO.  | 4,031  | 85,295.66                           | 64,496             | 22,016,150.92               | 22,048,055                   |
| KIUSIU  | 688  | 14,558.08                           | 11,008             | 3,757,656.12                | 3,763,101                    |
| SIKOK.. | 391  | 8,273.56                            | 6,256              | 2,135,528.40                | 2,138,623                    |
| Total.. | 5,110  | 108,127. <sup>2</sup> <sub>20</sub> | 81,760             | 27,909,335.44               | 27,949,779                   |

With a view to ascertain with what degree of accuracy the area of these islands had been calculated, Mr. A. W. Unthank, an American engineer, was requested by me to compile a map of Sikok from the most recent published and unpublished Japanese and foreign charts and maps, collected by me, and calculate its area from the same. The map made by him in accordance with this request, was divided into 5,472 squares, each square containing one square nautical mile of 6,076.18 feet, taking one mile to each minute of latitude. The length adopted here for the nautical mile is about correct, it being nearly the average length between what it is at the pole and at the equator: at the pole, as may be remembered, it measures 6,107 feet and fraction and at the equator 6,046 feet, giving an average of 6,076.5, while the length adopted in the present calculations is 6,076.18 feet; it being held that the nautical mile contains 1,851.986 French mètres, each mètre equaling 3.2808992 feet, thus giving to the nautical mile 6,076.1793858112 feet.



It is not possible for us with the merely general information that we have of the country, the most of which is derived from travelers, to estimate accurately what proportion of this area is suscep-

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Now, according to the figures procured at the O-Kura-Sho, the cho contains 108,000 square feet. Therefore, by converting nautical mile into cho, we find that Sikok and Awaji measure 1,876,706 cho. If from this we subtract 14,282 cho for convergence of meridian, we have a difference of 1,862,424 cho, which, according to Mr. Unthank's calculation, represents the true area of the islands.

It will be noted that, by the French calculation, the area of these islands is 2,138,623 cho, that is to say, 276,199 cho more than by Mr. Unthank's estimate. But this difference is easily explained by the fact that Mr. Unthank omitted to include in this measurement all the small islands lying off the coast of Sikok and Awaji, which, at one time, formed dependencies of the district called Sikok, and which were included in the French measurement. What confirms me in this opinion is that Mr. Unthank's measurement agrees almost exactly with my own, showing only the trifling difference of 8,187 cho. This difference was unavoidable, neither of us having thought it necessary to measure the fractions of square miles as found on the coast as minutely as we would have done had the map been the result of a carefully made survey, instead of being what it is,—a mere compilation of various surveys all of which are more or less defective; so that a measurement of the area from the map, however great care and minuteness might have been exercised in making it, would not give anything more than the figures furnished herein are intended to show, and that is, a mere rough estimate with a view to ascertain whether the French calculation of the area of the whole empire (exclusive of Yesso, which, from accurate surveys made by the Kaitakushi, we know to contain 408,440 cho, and Riu Kiu, of which we have no reliable surveys) was as correct as could be obtained. And unless a new and careful survey of the whole empire is made, what I have done in this case is, I believe, all that could be accomplished.

tible of cultivation or can be used as pastures ; but we may form an idea of what this may be by comparison with other countries with whose physical aspects Japan appears to have much in common, — the British Isles for instance. According to the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (edition of MDCCCXLII) the proportion of cultivated land in Scotland to the total area is  $26\frac{1}{2}$  per cent leaving that of the uncultivated  $73\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. I am aware that about one half of the cultivated ground of Scotland is pasture lands ; but, as this half is not mountain land, and it is acknowledged that it could be sown with grain, I have included it in the cultivated area. In England and Wales the proportion of cultivated land is  $77\frac{1}{2}$  per cent and that of the uncultivated  $22\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. In Ireland the proportion is  $71\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of cultivated land,  $26\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of mountain and bogs and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of lakes.

Admitting the figures given above to be correct, for Japan to attain the degree of agricultural development of England and Wales, it must have 21,672,078 cho, that is to say, 17,580,965 cho more than it now has, of land put under cultivation, leaving a balance of 6,277,700 cho uncultivated. To reach the agricultural wealth of Scotland it must have 7,406,691 cho, or 3,315,578 cho more than it now has cultivated, leaving 20,540,177 cho uncultivated. And to put itself

on a par with Ireland it must have 19,924,217 cho, or 15,833,104 cho more than it now has cultivated, leaving 8,025,561 cho uncultivated. From the reports of travelers it would appear that Japan is greatly superior to Scotland in its capacity for agricultural development; and if it does not possess as much arable land, in proportion to its size, as England and Wales or Ireland, yet it has pasture lands which, considering the purpose they might be put to, would contribute as much to its general wealth as if they were available for agriculture.

These exceptional circumstances of Japan regarding its pastures, are easy to be explained. They are necessarily brought by the warm current that runs along the whole length of its eastern coast, and from which abundant vapors rise and condense on the cold summits of its hills as the moisture in the air of our houses precipitates, in the summer time, on the sides of a glass containing ice, afterwards falling in showers of warm rain, thus giving a moist and in some places half-tropical climate which, in the regular order of things, should be found only in more southern latitudes, and producing a vegetation on high mountains and peaks such as would not be found there under other circumstances<sup>4</sup>. If some of the

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<sup>4</sup> Off Tokio, the temperature of the Kuro Siwo is 24 degree centigrade, that is to say, about 6 or 7 degrees higher than



chains of mountains upon which such vegetation is found, are too steep and precipitous to raise cattle, or even sheep, they are peculiarly well adapted to the breeding of Angora goats, which, for the production of wealth, are if not superior, at least equal to sheep<sup>5</sup>. If we admit the

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the water which is at rest, and which, so to speak, forms its banks. (See *La Terre*, par E. Reclus, vol. 11, page 105). Scotland owes the peculiarity of its climate, which ought to be as rigorous as that of Kamschatka, to circumstances similar to those which influence that of Japan, namely, the vicinity of the Gulf Stream which runs along its western coasts; and such is also the case with many other countries. (For particulars on this important subject, see Maury, *Geography of the Sea*; also *La Terre*, par E. Reclus). The Territory of Alaska, lately acquired by the United States, would be a mere bare boreal region were it not for the presence of the same warm stream that gives Japan such an exceptional climate. Professor Davidson says :

The existence of a branch of a warm Japanese stream carrying to this coast its waters, imposes, at the outset, the necessity of a high isothermal line, along the whole coast of America. The records of the state of the thermometer establish the fact; the botany and even the conchology of the whole region add their certain confirmation. The whole southern coast of the Alaska peninsula is bathed by some waters which retain a high temperature at Kadiak; thence westward this temperature decreases, although the latitude decreases. (See U. S. Coast survey, *Pacific Coast. Coast Pilot of Alaska*, first part, by George Davidson, Washington Department Printing office, 1869).

<sup>5</sup> These animals, which seem to possess many advantages over sheep, could occupy the higher mountain regions, those places remote from murens and where sheep husbandry would not be possible. Thus, with either the one species or the other can all the waste surface be utilized and the steep mountains and loftiest peaks be made to contribute to general prosperity. (D. W. Ap. Jones' report of the 28 of July 1874 to His Excellency, the minister of Foreign Affairs.)

reports of travelers as correct, Japan would stand about midway between England and Scotland in her capacity for agricultural development, and 52 per cent of its area, or 14,533,885 cho, can be converted into arable land. To attain this degree of culture, it is necessary that she would have

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A propos of the mountainous districts of Japan, the following suggestions by Mr. Léon Jacquet who has seen a great deal of the interior of Japan and has made its natural products a special study, will prove interesting :

Dans tous les pays exclusivement montagneux, si l'industrie ne vient pas augmenter les ressources de l'agriculture, le pays reste pauvre comparativement à la plaine. C'est le cas aux environs d'Akoné, les cours d'eaux rapides et les chutes n'y sont que rarement utilisés. Un temps viendra où des tissages, des scieries mécaniques ou des tours, mus par des forces naturelles, viendront étendre et généraliser des industries qui restent stériles dans leurs résultats parce que l'homme néglige de s'associer les forces puissantes que la nature met partout à sa disposition. D'un autre côté, les pentes des montagnes, dans leurs parties les plus accessibles, sont entièrement déboisées. Cela tient à deux causes : la première, c'est que les neiges de l'hiver accumulées, avec cette abondance dont nous avons de nombreux exemples aux environs de Yokohama et de Tokio, couvrent les arbres, les surchargent et les brisent, surtout si les vents qui ne cessent de souffler dans ces montagnes viennent se mettre de la partie. Les charbonniers qui coupent toujours les bois dans les parties les plus faciles à exploiter et l'incendie, allumé chaque année par l'incurie des voyageurs qui jettent au vent leur tabac encore allumé ou leurs allumettes, achèvent l'œuvre de destruction de la nature. En un mot, pour toutes ces raisons, des espaces considérables, tant au bord du lac d'Akoné (rive droite et rive gauche) que sur les pentes du Kami-yama ou du Kouma-ga-také, forment des pâturages naturels, qu'il serait d'autant plus à propos d'utiliser que ce serait avec l'industrie les seules ressources vives de ces montagnes. On ignore ici complètement l'art d'élever les bestiaux. Cependant la chair des animaux sauvages est des plus recherchées pour la nourriture de l'homme, à ce point qu'à Akoné seulement il s'est tué plus de 300 cerfs cette année. Ces animaux tendent à disparaître, vu la poursuite acharnée dont ils sont l'objet de la part des braconniers du pays.

Ne serait-ce pas le cas d'essayer là plutôt qu'ailleurs l'élevé des vaches et des chèvres, choisissant à cet effet les races les

10,442,772 cho more than she now has put under cultivation.

To form an idea of the increase of which the national wealth of Japan is susceptible, we will examine into the value of this vast tract of land

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plus utiles et les plus distinguées ? En effet, quel animal a le plus d'affinité avec les chevreuils et les cerfs qui peuplent ces montagnes si ce n'est la chèvre ?

Ici, je dois m'étendre sur l'utilité de ces animaux au point de vue de l'industrie japonaise et ses besoins. Chacun sait que la chèvre met bas chaque année deux chevreaux dont la peau, avant que l'animal ait brouté l'herbe, est d'une vente assurée dans tous les pays d'Europe pour la fabrication des gants. Ces peaux ont atteint très-souvent en France le prix de 2.75 à 3 fr. la pièce ; et bien que les peaux de chevreaux soient très-abondantes en France, nous sommes obligés d'aller les chercher en Espagne, en Italie, sur tous les bassins de la Méditerranée, en Turquie, en Perse, dans l'Inde et jusqu'en Abyssinie, sans parler de celles qui nous viennent d'Amérique. L'Angleterre nous dispute, sur tous les marchés, ces précieux produits ; car aussitôt que le chevreau devient plus fort, sa peau devient précieuse pour la fabrication des chaussures légères. Enfin, la peau de chèvre adulte est pour ainsi dire exclusivement employée pour la confection des souliers de femmes et je suis certain que les Japonais qui tannent si bien leurs cuirs en général, pourraient, à la longue, expédier leurs peaux de chèvre sur tous les marchés de l'Europe, car ils excellent dans l'art de préparer cette peau, à laquelle ils donnent des couleurs et un grain dont nos meilleurs fabricants seraient fiers. Je ne parlerai pas de tous les ouvrages en maroquinerie qui sont exclusivement fabriqués en peau de chèvre. On emploie aussi à cet usage les peaux de mouton. Le prix d'une peau de chèvre est presque toujours le double de celle d'une peau de mouton, et cela à juste titre, car son emploi est incomparablement plus avantageux.

Quant à la chair de la chèvre, bien qu'inférieure à celle du mouton, elle ne cesse pas d'être un aliment très-sain, et l'élevage de ces animaux est des plus faciles ; je ne parle pas du lait ni du fromage de chèvre qui certes seraient d'un appoint considérable pour la nourriture du peuple, ni de son poil, qui sert à fabriquer des étoffes fort appréciées. Joignez à tous ces avantages le fumier produit par cet animal durant le temps qu'il est à l'écurie, et l'on aura à peine une idée des services qu'il peut rendre sur des montagnes où sa dent meurtrière ne peut porter aucun préjudice.



when improved and the yield it may be made to give. For the sake of argument we will suppose that it will be divided into two classes on the same basis as that adopted by the O-Kura-Sho for the cultivated lands throughout Japan; that these classes will stand in the same proportion to each

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Quant à la race bovine, elle réussirait incontestablement dans les mêmes endroits; mais si vous consultez les habitants du pays à ce sujet, ils répondront que la chose est impossible.

En effet, les habitants d'Akoné, poussés probablement par les suggestions de leurs autorités, ont essayé, il y a trois ans, l'éleve d'un troupeau de trente vaches qui, après s'être bien engraisées durant l'été, ont toutes succombé durant les rigueurs de l'hiver. Mais, à ce qu'il paraît, ces animaux seraient restés en rase campagne et sans abri durant la mauvaise saison. Elles s-raient donc toutes mortes par suite du manque des soins les plus élémentaires, faute de protection contre la rigueur de l'hiver, et probablement d'une alimentation suffisante. On n'avait ni récolté ni fait sécher au printemps aucun fourrage à leur intention. J'ai cru trouver dans ce fait que le troupeau était la propriété commune, une autre cause d'insuccès, car le troupeau confié à des mains mercenaires et peu intéressées à le soigner a dû naturellement souffrir. Peut-être même que les connaissances voulues ont fait défaut au berger chargé de surveiller ces animaux dans un pays où les principes de l'élevage sont presque inconnus. L'ignorance ou plutôt l'inexpérience aurait causé le mal. Devra-t-on s'en tenir à cet essai unique? Assurément non. Cette question doit attirer l'attention du gouvernement.

Une autre source de richesses pour le pays d'Akoné est aussi, à mon avis, la pêche du lac. Elle a été très-peu lucrative depuis de nombreuses années. Entre toutes les causes qui ont pu amener la rareté du poisson dans les eaux de ce lac, si propice à la reproduction des belles et grandes espèces de poissons d'eau douce, il faut citer en premier lieu la mauvaise habitude qu'ont les indigènes d'attendre, pour jeter le filet, le temps que le poisson a choisi pour aller déposer ses œufs sur les fonds qui sont les seuls endroits où les œufs peuvent éclore avantageusement et l'alevin échapper à la rapacité des grands poissons, même de la même espèce. Il est évident que le poisson, traqué en tous sens et en tous les temps, doit, pour échapper au filet, s'enfoncer dans le lac aux profondeurs inaccessibles aux filets; pour ne reparaitre dans les lieux de pêche que quand les besoins impérieux de la nature, tels que la ponte, l'obligent à se rendre dans les bas-fonds

other that they do at present; and that one of them, that is the rice land, or what I take to be the better of the two, will have a value of 531.24 yen, and the other, or inferior, a value of 206.72

pour y déposer ses œufs. Non-seulement alors les grands poissons mâles et femelles deviennent la proie du pêcheur, mais les filets trainants, en rasant le fond du lac, ravagent et meurtrissent les œufs qui deviennent infertiles. Souvent aussi le mâle, troublé dans l'opération connexe qui consiste à suivre la femelle et à répandre sur ses œufs la laitance fertilisatrice, fuit au loin, pour ne plus reparaitre; ou bien encore, la femelle s'enfonce dans des eaux plus profondes, y dépose ses œufs à peine éclos, et les petits y deviennent, comme je l'ai dit, la proie des grands poissons.

Mais, me dira-t-on, si dans les temps ordinaires, les grands poissons habitent les profondeurs, et si, au temps de la ponte, il nous est défendu de pêcher, que deviendrons-nous? Nous nous trouverons sans ressources?

Ce n'est pas de cela qu'il s'agit. Nous ne demandons pas qu'on défende la pêche en général, mais, tout au moins, qu'on l'interdise dans certaines zones, de façon à laisser aux poissons le temps de pondre en toute sécurité et aux alevins le temps de grossir assez pour pouvoir échapper à la poursuite de leurs ennemis.

Un lac n'est point, comme la mer, un champ ouvert de tous côtés et sans limites où tout ce qu'on laisse fuir peut vous échapper pour toujours. Un lac, au contraire, est en quelque sorte un parc clos où vous voyez grandir et se multiplier tous les animaux que votre prévoyance a su y rassembler. La truite qui échappe à vos filets tandis qu'elle était petite revient deux fois plus grosse, un peu plus tôt ou un peu plus tard, ou pour se laisser reprendre, ou pour servir à la reproduction. Dans aucun cas rien n'est perdu. Si dans la mer même, par le fait de prohibition de la pêche sur les bas-fonds en temps de fraie, on a pu augmenter sensiblement la quantité de poisson pris par les pêcheurs, assurément on peut obtenir le même résultat dans le lac d'Akoné. Bien plus, ne serait-il pas de bonne économie politique d'élever sur les bords de ce lac un établissement de pisciculture à l'instar de ceux établis dans d'autres pays, afin de repeupler les eaux des lacs et des rivières sur la plus grande étendue de leur parcours. Ainsi sont stérilisés ces champs immenses qui, si la pêche était soumise à de sages réglemens, se rempliraient d'une nourriture saine et agréable et non-seulement serviraient à l'alimentation des habitants des

yen per cho, giving an average value of 379.17 yen per cho.

According to the best information I can procure<sup>6</sup>, unreclaimed land in Japan is worth about 14.77 yen per cho<sup>7</sup> so that the 10,442,772 cho of land under consideration is now worth only 154,239,742 yen. Now to reclaim these 10,442,772 cho would cost, by such improved modes of culture as have been adopted at the Shimosa sheep farm, exactly  $\frac{2}{3}$  of a sen per tsubo, or about one yen per tan, or 10 yen per cho<sup>8</sup>, after which,

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bords du lac d'Akoné, (car le poisson devenu plus abondant et plus facile à prendre deviendrait à la portée de toutes les bourses) mais contribueraient encore, par la vente du poisson dans les marchés voisins, à l'accroissement de leur fortune.

(Léon Jacquet's report of the 21st of May 1876 to General Le Gendre).

<sup>6</sup> Mr. D. W. Ap. Jones' report to His Excellency Okuma Shigenobu, on Imoto, Nasu no hara, Owashi plain, Ne no hara and other places, 1875.

<sup>7</sup> This figure is obtained by assuming that 47 per cent of the wild lands of Japan are worth one yen per tan and the remainder 53 per cent, 1 yen 90 sen per tan, which would give an average of 1.477 yen per tan, or 14.77 yen per cho.

<sup>8</sup> By the old Japanese system a farmer can dig to the depth of 4 to 5 inches, 35 tsubos of land per day, working eight hours per day, and, therefore, to dig 1210 tsubos, or one acre, would require  $34\frac{1}{2}$  days labor, which, at 20 sen per day, would cost 6 yen 90 sen. Now by using three horses, a man can plow 5 tan in one day, the outside cost of which would be,

|                                     |             |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|
| Wages of one man.....               | 20 sen.     |
| Keep of horses at 20 sen each,..... | 60 "        |
| Allowance for wear and tear .....   | 20 "        |
| TOTAL .....                         | 1.00 yen or |



at the cost of further improvement and expense<sup>9</sup>, the land, having been put under suitable culture, would be worth, on an average, 379.17 sen per cho, or altogether 3,959,575,859 yen, and it would be capable of yielding produce averaging  $14 \frac{65}{100}$  per cent of the value of the land, out of which we must deduct three per cent for taxes and  $2 \frac{65}{100}$  per cent for the cost of production, leaving exactly six per cent for the producer<sup>10</sup>. In round

20 sen per tan or 300 tsubos. Thus we see that the cost of digging 1 tsubo of ground by hand is 1 sen 7 rin and 5 mo ( $1 \frac{1}{4}$  sen), while the cost of plowing it is less than 7 mo (exactly  $\frac{2}{3}$  of a sen).

<sup>9</sup> I will show in Appendix C what this expense might be.

<sup>10</sup> The data that have served in calculating these figures were procured at the O-Kura-Sho in December 1865. Since that time the land tax has been reduced from three per cent of the value of the land to  $2 \frac{1}{2}$  per cent, that is exactly one sixth. The figure of six per cent, was obtained at the O-Kura-Sho and that of  $2 \frac{65}{100}$  was arrived at by subtracting both six per cent retained by the producer and the three per cent paid for taxes from  $14 \frac{65}{100}$  per cent, the gross produce of the land. This is calculated for lands of all descriptions. Rice lands produce  $14 \frac{77}{100}$  per cent, which makes the cost of production  $2 \frac{77}{100}$  per cent of the value of land, while land devoted to miscellaneous culture produces  $11 \frac{29}{100}$  per cent, which make the cost of production  $2 \frac{29}{100}$ . The O-Kura-Sho assesses cultivated land by calculating its actual value from what careful surveys show it will yield, (See note 4, page 139). It may not be entirely uninteresting to report here some other estimates of the value of land in Japan as furnished by persons not officially connected with the government. A farmer living on the shores of Lake Imbama who had 25 acres of land (100 tan) which he valued at 5,000 yen, reported that his farm yielded him six per cent on his capital. By lending his money on the best security, he

numbers the total product which they would yield would be 461,290,587 yen, and the revenue which the state would derive from them, at the rate of three per cent of the value of the land, would not

could get ten per cent. Mr. Jacquet, a French agriculturist, estimates that one tan of ground planted in rice would average a profit of 4 yen 10 sen per annum, or 41 yen per cho, while the O-Karu-Sho estimates that it would give about 3 yen 19 sen per tan, or 31 yen 89 sen per cho. The difference between the two statements is doubtless owing to the fact that Mr. Jacquet, who relatively speaking, had but a limited field of observation to work his figures upon, did not included in his calculations all the data available, while the O-Kura-Sho, which had collected all the information desirable, did so.

Another fact of importance relating to labor remuneration in this country which the investigation of this subject has led me to discover may not prove uninteresting. Mr. Jacquet has ascertained (see hereafter note 21) that 150 days labor is required to cultivate one cho of ground and put the crop in a marketable condition, and at least five dollars worth of manure is needed every year. If, as I have shown above, the cost of production of the crop yielded by one cho of land is  $14\frac{72}{100}$  yen, by deducting 5 yen for manure, there remains but  $9\frac{72}{100}$  yen to pay for these 150 days labor, a fact that brings the wages of rice farmers down to  $6\frac{48}{100}$  sen per day, and that is not sufficient. But it will be said, besides his daily wages, the farmer has six per cent of the gross produce that accrues to him. That is true, but it is no argument in favor of  $6\frac{48}{100}$  sen being a sufficient remuneration for his day's labor. For this six per cent is the remuneration which he derives from the lending of his capital to the purposes of his farm, and  $6\frac{48}{100}$  sen per day, only the recompense for his skill and labor. The fact that he gets the one should be no argument against his getting the other, for he is entitled to both. Mr. Say, in his treatise on the manner in which a nation's wealth is formed, distributed and consumed (page 291) says :

Soit qu'un entrepreneur ait emprunté le capital qui sert à son enterprise, soit qu'il le possède en toute propriété, il en



62, 1985 than 118,787,275 yen <sup>11</sup>, while the owners, at six per cent of the value of the land would get an im-

ture, au moment où il vend ses produits, un produit indépendant du profit qui représente le salaire de son talent et de ses travaux; l'intérêt qu'un capitaliste obtient d'un capital prêté, est pour nous la preuve qu'on retire un profit d'un capital qu'on fait valoir. Quel entrepreneur en effet, pourrait, d'une manière suivie, consentir à payer un intérêt, s'il ne trouvait pas dans le prix auquel il vend ses produits, un profit qui l'indemnise tout au moins du loyer que son capital lui coûte? et lorsqu'il est propriétaire de son capital, si en faisant valoir par lui-même ce capital, il n'en tirait rien au delà du salaire de ses peines, n'est-il pas évident qu'il préférerait le prêter pour en tirer un intérêt, et qu'il louerait séparément ses talents et sa capacité pour en recevoir un salaire?

If, as we believe, it is possible rice culture can be rendered less stupefying to those who engage in it, by the introduction of the plow and other agricultural implements, the culture of that grain should be carefully encouraged, and even extended. For there is probably no grain that exhausts the soil less than rice. It appears to take most of its food from both the air and water; and fields in America, Italy and France where it is grown, have been known to remain fertile for long terms of years without even the addition of manure. The same cannot be said of wheat. But for rice to continue in Japan as an article of food to the exclusion of almost every other grain except barley and millet, is quite a different thing. With regard to this important subject, I read in the *Dictionnaire général des sciences théoriques et appliquées* by MM. Privat, Deschanel & Ad. Focillon, the following suggestive reflections:

« Usage. — Dans les contrées chaudes le riz est la base de la nourriture de l'homme, et on trouvera dans la composition chimique de cette substance une des causes qui peuvent peut-être expliquer en partie l'infériorité physique des nombreuses populations qui en font usage; en effet bien que le riz contienne une proportion énorme de fécule (85 pour cent suivant Braconnot) il est, au contraire, entièrement dépourvu de gluten et renferme seulement 3.60 de matière azotée; ce qui rend sa panification absolument impossible. » (See *Dictionnaire général* etc., etc., II partie, page 2190, Paris, 1870).

<sup>11</sup> This was written in 1865. Since that year, as stated in note 10, the land tax has been reduced from three per cent to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the value of the land. At the rate of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent this vast tract of land would yield but 98,989,279 yen, or 19,797,379 yen less than at the rate of three per cent.



come from them of not less than 237,574,451 yen, and the cost of production would be 104,928,760 yen.

As to the remaining 13,090,560 cho, we will admit that the portion of it capable of being used as pastures stands in the same ratio to the whole as we have already calculated that the cultivated lands stand towards the total area, or  $7\frac{3}{4}$  per cent, which gives 2,164,608 cho, leaving 10,925,942 cho of what is generally called *waste land*, from the fact that such tracts, on account of their acclivity, elevation or inaccessibility to the plow, are incapable of becoming arable, or of being used as pasture grounds for any kind of animal. But we have seen that this class of land in Japan frequently produces herbage sufficiently rich for fattening Angoro goats, together with coarse pastures for breeding and rearing them; and being utilized for such a purpose, they are susceptible of becoming, in their way, very valuable pasture lands. The direct products derived from them without expense to the shepherd, not taking into consideration the incalculable benefit which agriculture, in general, would derive from them, would probably more than cover the probable expense on the 2,164,608 cho of pasture land proper, the amount of which we must know before we can estimate the net produce of the pastures. In England, the annual value of the

various products derived from pastures proper is estimated at an average of £3.10 shillings per acre or 0.40634 cho. Doubtless it would be possible, in a very few years to cover the pastures of Japan with as much live stock, in proportion to their area, as may be found, to-day, on the hill sides of the United Kingdom. But it would be far more difficult to dispose of the products which these pastures would yield. For, unlike what takes place in England and the continent of Europe, in Japan and in fact in the whole of Asia, very few consume commodities obtainable either directly or indirectly from pastures. Even horses are in limited demand in these parts, there being few roads except those through which the pack-horse, or other instrument of intercourse in use in infant societies, for the transport of the product of labor, can pass; and consequently there are very few carriages used for the transportation of either material or man. So the development of pastures in Japan, in a great measure, will be subordinate to that of other wild lands. But let me haste to say, unless the former are developed and the resources of the country in live stock are greatly increased, the portion of wilds susceptible of cultivation will never be reclaimed. For, rich as it is, the soil of Japan will not produce without manure. Not that every thing required for the support of crops of every

kind, is not in it ; but it is there, apparently, in a dormant state, in which it remains insensible to natural re-agents. Something besides heat and moisture is needed to give life to the soil and make it perform its active and regular functions : and that is *manure*. As it is the Japanese farmer is limited to the use of night-soil, ashes, decomposed vegetables, sea-weeds<sup>12</sup>, and such other articles as are to be found in a very limited supply and at little or no cost in his immediate neighborhood. For what he can get from the one or two pack-horses which he keeps, is insignificant. Poverty prevents him from buying artificial fertilizers. And even if he had the means to buy such fertilizers he could not use them ; for, with the present system of communication, in most cases, he could not transport them economically from the port of shipment to his farm. A reference to Appendix C, table A, Nos. 4 and 21, will show that the demand which a rapid extension of farming in Japan would create for live stock, merely for ploughing, harvesting and other mechanical purposes, would be very great. But so long as these lands shall remain untilled, pastures will have a limited market for any of their products wool excepted and a few others which are insignificant. Yet, even under these adverse conditions, which must be expected to pre-

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<sup>12</sup> See Appendix B, key to the table.



vail for fifty or sixty years to come, pastures would prove an important source of wealth to Japan. For convenience sake, setting their yield at  $7 \frac{47}{100}$  yen per cho, that is to say, about  $\frac{1}{6}$  of what the yield of pastures is in England, the nation would still derive from ~~them~~ <sup>no less</sup> an income than 15,736,700 yen. And if we admit that, with such an income the profit derived from the wastes would cover the cost of production of the pasture lands proper—and this will certainly be the case after the latter have been put into full use—then the gross produce of these pastures will express the net produce of both the wastes and the pastures. This, at the rate of six per cent, would give to the land a value of 260,814,666 yen, or 120.49 yen per cho, which, at three per cent of the value of the land would yield to the state, a revenue of 7,840,350 yen.

Such are the figures that I have arrived at. Basing my calculations, as I have, upon incomplete information, I can not say that they are entirely reliable. But if they are anywhere near the truth, their importance can not be denied. Under the present system of cultivation, the rapid conversion of a portion of the uncultivated lands of Japan into arable ground and pasture would be an impossibility. Too many persons already are engaged in agriculture and too few in the other branches of industry. The equilibrium which it

is necessary to maintain between the various classes engaged in the work of national production is not found in Japan. The empire has an area of 4,091,112 cho under cultivation, in the tillage of which, no less than 15,320,394 persons<sup>13</sup> (male, women and children) are engaged, which gives only about  $\frac{36}{100}$  of a cho to each person; while in the United States, where the equilibrium among the classes has been destroyed in favor of agriculture, and the whole farming lands comprise an area of 3,578,392 square miles or 45,929,546 cho, about 18,260,213 persons are engaged in tilling the soil, thus giving an average of 2.515 cho to each individual<sup>14</sup>. Again the

<sup>13</sup> See table, pages 225 and 230, note 14.

<sup>14</sup> From both the census returns of the United States for 1870 and the statistics collected by the O-Kura-Sho, it would appear that the populations of Japan and the United States are divided as follows :

**JAPAN.**

| OCCUPATIONS.   | MALE.      | FEMALE.    | TOTAL.     |
|--|------------|------------|------------|
| Agriculture .....                                      | 8,139,965  | 7,180,429  | 15,320,394 |
| Professional and personal services ....                | 1,415,073  | 936,633    | 2,351,706  |
| Trade and transportation (merchants and fishermen).... | 830,728    | 461,900    | 1,292,628  |
| Manufactures, mechanical and mining..                  |            |            |            |
| Industries .....                                       | 533,913    | 155,051    | 688,964    |
| Unoccupied .....                                       | 5,972,021  | 7,680,887  | 13,652,908 |
| Grand total .....                                      | 16,891,700 | 16,414,900 | 33,306,600 |

American farmer makes his land yield an average of \$54.81 per cho, while the Japanese average but 44 yen, 20 sen. Thus in Japan the average produce of each individual farmer has a value of only about 11 yen, 49 sen per annum, while in America, the average is \$137.85 per individual.

These circumstances, which seem to throw new obstacles in the way of re-establishing the equi-

UNITED STATES.

| OCCUPATIONS.  | MALE.     | FEMALE.   | TOTAL.     |
|---|-----------|-----------|------------|
| Agriculture .....                                   | 5,525,503 | 396,968   | 5,922,471  |
| Professional and personal services ....             | 1,618,121 | 1,066,672 | 2,684,793  |
| Trade and transportation .....                      | 1,172,540 | 18,698    | 1,191,238  |
| Manufacture, mechanical and mining Industries ..... | 2,351,471 | 253,450   | 2,604,921  |
| Unoccupied (under 10 years of age) ..               | .....     | .....     | 10,329,505 |
| Unaccounted for above 10 years of age .....         | .....     | .....     | 15,722,943 |
| Grand total population in 1870 .....                |           |           | 38,558,471 |

It will be observed that while the aggregate number of persons in the United States above the age of ten is 28,288,945, only 12,505,923 are accounted for in the above table of occupations. An examination of the various classes into which



librium between the producing classes of Japan, are not, after all, so difficult to deal with as they at first sight appear. For if the Japanese farmers remain behind the Americans in the results obtained, it will be simply owing to three drawbacks which can be easily removed. The first is

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this aggregate is divided, as found in the census returns of the United States for 1870, shows that the omission are mainly among females and children below the age of 16 years. But in the returns of occupations of Japan, given above, all ages and sexes are reckoned, and therefore it becomes necessary to ascertain by approximate calculation, what proportion of the 15,722,943 unaccounted for and the 10,329,505 children under ten years of age, in the United States belong to the agricultural population. According to our estimate, 7,445,965 out of the unaccounted for 15,722,943 and 4,891,777 out of 10,329,505 children ought to be classed with the agricultural population, which, added to the 5,922,471 given in the table, makes a total of 18,260,213. This, then, is about what I take to be the actual number of persons belonging to the farming class in the United States; and all my comparisons between the wealth and capacities of production of the American and Japanese farmer, are based upon that figure. But we must not forget that these 18,260,213 include both children, who take no part in the labors of the farm and who consume but little, and women, who, although belonging to the agricultural class, do not partake of its labor. Indeed, many of them, I infer from the tables have competences of their own, and would more properly belong to a separate class similar to the unoccupied class of Japan, rather than to the one <sup>they</sup> ~~day~~ have been assigned to in my classification. But, in the absence of data for calculation, and even of reasonable room for conjecture, I will not attempt to make any deduction, and will merely remark that in all the calculations in which the figure 18,260,213 is taken as the basis, whatever may be the result, it must be understood to be to the advantage of Japan and the detriment of the United States.

required in raising it<sup>17</sup>. And that, when they engage in the cultivation of some of the most remunerative products, that of the mulberry for the raising of silk-worms, for instance, their operations are hampered by so many regulations and formalities that it is with much difficulty that they make them profitable. Labor, under such restrictions gives results which bear to those that might be presumed to come from free farming a

| NAMES<br>of<br>STATES<br>and<br>TERRITORIES. | PERCENTAGE OF TAXATION ON THE<br>ESTIMATED VALUE<br>OF REAL AND PERSONAL<br>ESTATE IN ALL THE<br>STATES AND TERRITORIES<br>OF THE UNITED<br>STATES. |  | PERCENTAGE OF TAXATION ON THE<br>TRUE VALUATION<br>OF REAL AND<br>PERSONAL ESTATE IN ALL<br>THE STATES AND TERRITORIES OF THE<br>UNITED STATES. |  |
|--|---|--|---|--|
|  | Taxation<br>not<br>national.  | Taxation both<br>national and<br>not national. | Taxation<br>not<br>national.  | Taxation both<br>national and<br>not national. |
| Washington ..                                | .01540+   | .03519+  | .00993—   | .01926+  |
| South Carolina                               | .01504 »  | .05483 »                                       | .01330+   | .02263 »                                       |
| Vermont .....                                | .01501 »  | .03480 »                                       | .00658 »  | .01591 »                                       |
| Connecticut...                               | .01427 »  | .03406 »                                       | .00782 »  | .01715 »                                       |
| Kentucky.....                                | .01397 »  | .03376 »                                       | .00948 »  | .01881 »                                       |
| Tennessee....                                | .01330 »  | .03309 »                                       | .00679 »  | .01612 »                                       |
| Utah .....                                   | .01287 »  | .03266 »                                       | .01045 »  | .01978 »                                       |
| Virginia .....                               | .01264 »  | .03243 »                                       | .01125 »  | .02058 »                                       |
| West Virginia.                               | .01220 »  | .03199 »                                       | .00901 »  | .01834 »                                       |
| New Jersey ...                               | .01186 »  | .03165 »                                       | .00788 »  | .01721—  |
| Georgia .....                                | .01157 »  | .03136 »                                       | .00980 »  | .01913+  |
| Rhode Island..                               | .00889 »  | .02868 »                                       | .00730 »  | .01663 »                                       |
| Texas.....                                   | .00753 »  | .02732 »                                       | .00710 »  | .01643 »                                       |
| Delaware.....                                | .00643 »  | .02622 »                                       | .00431 »  | .01363 »                                       |
| Wyoming ....                                 | .00626 »  | .02605 »                                       | .00492 »  | .01425 »                                       |
| Dakotah.....                                 | .00478 »  | .02457—  | .00247 »  | .01180 »                                       |
| New Mexico...                                | .00338 »  | .02317+  | .00296 »  | .01229 »                                       |
| Idaho.....                                   | .00329 »  | .02308 »                                       | .00268 »  | .01201 »                                       |

<sup>17</sup> See pages 217 and 218.

ratio such as holds between the efficiency of slave and paid labor<sup>18</sup>. However, tobacco, cotton, tea, sugar and a few other cultures are not comparatively speaking interfered with. It has been ascertained by Dr. Latham, at one time connected with the Shimosa government sheep-farm, that, by substituting the plow for hand-labor, one man could do in one day the work which, under the old system, required eighteen days to perform; and that, in the breaking up of lands that have never been cultivated, one man, with the aid of the plow, could turn over 4 tan of ground in one day, while the same work would have required 34 days under the old system<sup>19</sup>. Some have calculated that by the old method one Japanese laborer, could not turn over, to the depth of 12 inches, one tan of land that had never been cultivated in less than ten days. This is most profitable, for even Irishmen, who are so largely endowed with physical strength, take with implements not much superior to those now in use in Japan, 16 days to turn over 4 tan of cultivated land to the

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<sup>18</sup> With regard to slave labor Mr. Thompson says: « In the earliest ages laborers were generally slaves. But it was found that slave labor was dear at any price . . . . The serfs were worth so little as workmen that it took all but a small percentage of the population to raise food for the whole, and vast numbers were employed in herding swine and cattle. (Social Science and National Economy, Page 136).

<sup>19</sup> See note 8, page 217.



depth of nine inches. And when we consider the effort required to perform this work, we need no longer be astonished at what may at first sight appear the slowness of the operation. Prof. Samuel W. Johnson, quoting Schubler<sup>20</sup>, says that garden mold rich in vegetable matter, such as is found in the valleys of Japan and in which rice is grown, weighs about 70 pounds per cubic feet, or 3,049,000 pounds per acre to the depth of one foot, the depth the land is dug in this country. Thus we see that the unfortunate who has to cultivate one acre, or  $4\frac{1}{16}$  tan, of land, has to turn over, stir up, break and shape a weight equal to 3,049,900 pounds! and this for less than  $2\frac{85}{100}$  yen<sup>21</sup>! In the United States, even animals are beginning to be released from such work by

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<sup>20</sup> See "How Crop feed" etc., by Samuel W. Johnson, M. A., professor of Analytical and Agricultural Chemistry in the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale College, page 158.

<sup>21</sup> In connection with the cultivation of rice the following memorandum furnished to me by Mr. Jacquet will prove interesting. No one will wonder at the importance this explorer attaches to the introduction of grape culture in Japan when it is remembered that the country is admirably adapted to its cultivation and that, like France, it could derive a large income from it. In 1871 the value of the exports of both wines and spirits from Bordeaux, Cette, Lyon and Marseilles exceeded 96,000,000 of francs! Mr. Jacquet writes:

Je vous adresse, suivant vos désirs, quelques notes comparatives au sujet de la culture du riz et de celle de la vigne au point de vue de la puissance colonisatrice de l'une et de l'autre récolte. C'est-à-dire que je m'efforcerai de faire ressortir le chiffre de la population qu'elles peuvent entretenir respectivement et du bien-être qu'elles peuvent lui procurer.

the introduction of the steam plow, by which a saving of about 30 per cent is effected, besides its doing away with the necessity of keeping oxen or horses except the number required for other purposes, such as the transport of manure, crops, etc. One great advantage in the use of the steam plow, is that the subsoil is not made hard

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Ce travail n'ayant été préparé que pour me rendre compte grosso-modo de l'utilité qu'il y aurait pour le cultivateur japonais à joindre la culture de la vigne à celle du riz, je n'ai pas apporté dans mes calculs une exactitude rigoureuse.

Sans faire entrer en ligne de compte le coût des travaux de défrichement nécessaire pour le riz comme pour la vigne, je ferai cependant observer que les travaux de nivellement de digues et de canalisation, souvent très-couteux pour l'installation d'une rizière, me paraissent largement aussi onéreux que la plantation d'un tcho de vigne.

Je prendrai donc la vigne au commencement de la seconde année et le champ de riz au moment où il est prêt à être ensemencé et j'additionnerai, en les comparant, les revenus de chaque culture pour une période de 10 ans.

Mais pour qu'on se rende bien compte des avantages sanitaires que présente la culture de la vigne, dont toutes les façons se donnent aisément et en plein soleil, sur celle du riz, je vais simplement énumérer les différentes phases de la culture du riz, phases pendant lesquelles le cultivateur des rizières est la moitié du temps dans l'eau et la boue jusqu'aux genoux.

#### FAÇONS A DONNER AU RIZ.

- 1<sup>o</sup> Retourner au grappin, et souvent avec un masque sur la figure, les vieilles souches du riz ;
- 2<sup>o</sup> Réparer les digues et introduire les eaux dans la rizière ;
- 3<sup>o</sup> Apporter de la ferme ou de la montagne le fumier et y mêler les feuilles et les herbes, qui se trouvent dans la rizière ;
- 4<sup>o</sup> Mélanger cet amendement à la terre et l'y enfouir ;
- 5<sup>o</sup> Égaliser le terrain ;
- 6<sup>o</sup> Faire tremper les semences ; semer ; préparer les pépinières, les protéger contre les oiseaux et les arroser soigneusement ;
- 7<sup>o</sup> Arracher les jeunes plants, les mettre en bottes et les transporter à la rizière ;
- 8<sup>o</sup> Planter 55,000 bouquets dans un tcho de riz de 3,600 tsu-bos que j'ai pris pour base de mes calculs.

by the trampling of horses; its principal drawback is the trouble and expense of the machinery.

It has been argued that rice lands cannot be plowed at all, as they are generally too wet and

- 9<sup>o</sup> Premier binage qui consiste à délayer à la main la boue de la rizière dans le but d'enfouir les mauvaises herbes et de mettre les racines en communication avec les parties nutritives ;
- 10<sup>o</sup> Deuxième opération comme ci-dessus, après 10 jours ;
- 11<sup>o</sup> Troisième binage, comme ci-haut et même but ;
- 12<sup>o</sup> Le riz étant formé en grain, enlever à la main les mauvaises herbes qui atteignent la hauteur des épis et pourraient causer du dommage à la récolte ;
- 13<sup>o</sup> Moisson et mise en gerbes ; transport à dos d'hommes de la récolte à la ferme ;
- 14<sup>o</sup> Peigner les gerbes pour en séparer le grain ; bottelage de la paille et sa mise en meule ;
- 15<sup>o</sup> Battage au fléau des grains pour les débarrasser complètement de la paille ;
- 16<sup>o</sup> Vanner le grain après le battage ;
- 17<sup>o</sup> Exposer le grain au soleil pour le bien sécher ;
- 18<sup>o</sup> Décortiquer le grain à la meule ;
- 19<sup>o</sup> Passer le grain au blutoir ;
- 20<sup>o</sup> Passer le grain au crible pour séparer les grains peu ou pas décortiqués de ceux qui le sont entièrement ;
- 21<sup>o</sup> Blanchir le riz au foulon et l'ensacher.

Après tous ces travaux qui auront exigé 150 journées d'hommes au moins, le tcho de riz aura rapporté, année commune, dix-neuf koku de riz, estimés en moyenne de \$3.75 à 4 dollars. Prenant le chiffre de 4 dollars nous aurons pour un an \$76, soit pour 10 ans,  $76 \times 10 = \$760$ .

#### DÉPENSES.

150 journées d'hommes à \$0,20 = \$30 ; soit pour 15 ans, rios 300. Semences et fumier, estimant très-bas, \$5 par an, pour 10 ans \$50, ce qui joint au 300, fera \$350, qui, retranchés de 760, laissera pour la période décennale, 416 dollars de bénéfice, soit 41 dollars par an pour un tcho de 3,600 tsulos.

Quant à la vigne qui nous aura coûté exceptionnellement \$50 pour frais de plants tirés d'Europe, une fois pour toutes, nous inscrirons ses dépenses comme nous l'avons fait dans notre rapport, omettant les frais de défrichement et de plantation qui sont les mêmes pour la préparation d'un tcho de rizière que pour la plantation d'un tcho de vigne.



not always susceptible of being drained at will ; and that, besides, the horses would pack it so much that the roots of the plants could not penetrate the soil. But these obstacles are considered by most authorities as not being insurmountable.

#### DÉPENSES.

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| Un achat des plants .....  | \$ 50.00   |
| 2 <sup>me</sup> année, \$5 intérêts sur \$50, joints<br>aux dépenses ordinaires... | 188.50     |
| 3 <sup>me</sup> année .....  | 68.85      |
| 4 <sup>me</sup> „ .....  | 75.73      |
| 5 <sup>me</sup> „ .....  | 83.30      |
| 6 <sup>me</sup> „ .....  | 253.63     |
| 7 <sup>me</sup> „ .....  | 120.00     |
| 8 <sup>me</sup> „ .....  | 150.00     |
| 9 <sup>me</sup> „ .....  | 150.00     |
| 10 <sup>me</sup> „ .....   | 150.00     |
| 11 <sup>me</sup> „ .....   | 150.00     |
| Dépenses totales .....   | \$1,440.01 |

#### RECETTES.

|   |         |
|---|---------|
| Les recettes ne commencent qu'à la<br>5 <sup>me</sup> année de plantation ; elles<br>sont par an (revenu brut) de ... | \$ 200  |
| 6 <sup>me</sup> année .....   | 320     |
| 7 <sup>me</sup> „ .....   | 500     |
| 8 <sup>me</sup> „ .....   | 500     |
| 9 <sup>me</sup> „ .....   | 500     |
| 10 <sup>me</sup> „ .....  | 500     |
| 11 <sup>me</sup> „ .....  | 500     |
| Total des recettes pour 10 ans, ....  | \$3,020 |
| Dont il faut déduire les frais .....  | \$1,440 |
| Bénéfice net .....  | \$1,580 |

Si nous mettons en parallèle le bénéfice net de la rizière, \$410, nous aurons un revenu quatre fois plus grand et nous aurons payé aux ouvriers un salaire quatre fois plus grand également, par conséquent nourri une population quatre fois plus nombreuse ; d'où il faut conclure que la puissance colonisatrice de la vigne est quatre fois plus grande que celle du riz. (11 avril 1876).

Dr. Latham thinks that all such lands could readily be plowed, as they can all be drained after the rice is cut; and this drainage could not be a cause of inconvenience and damage as the rapid flowing of the water is prevented by the small partitions into which the land is divided.

By introducing the most modern improved implements of agriculture, the capacity of production of the individual being increased, the number of those engaged in tilling the soil would of course considerably decrease. For admitting that, with the aid of machinery, the cultivation of the ground would be at the rate of 2.515 cho per individual, where, without it, the proportion would be but a little less than  $\frac{1}{9}$  as much, then  $\frac{2}{9}$  of the present agricultural population of Japan, or 10,213,596 persons, would be able to till, in the most desirable varieties of culture, 25,687,194 cho, that is to say, not only all that Japan proper could give them, but also all they could find in Yesso and Riu Kiu, and even more<sup>22</sup>. Even then their time would not be so fully occupied, but that

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<sup>22</sup> By this operation the unit of agricultural production in the Japanese society would be made to produce  $137\frac{85}{100}$  yen instead of  $11\frac{44}{100}$  which was derived from it by the old system, and, by adding up the products of these various units, the sum, which represents the increase in the wealth of the nation, would be obtained. Further on will be shown how the units of agricultural production, thus freed from employment in their own spheres, would go to swell the ranks of those

they would have ample leisure to engage in such small and simple industrial avocations conducive to wealth and comfort as the farmers of many districts of France, Switzerland, Denmark and other European countries practice, and give to their intellectual and moral development, which, with the regime they are now placed under, can not but be greatly neglected, the necessary attention. So true is it that an advanced civilization, made use of in the furtherance of just ends, is conducive not only to greater material comfort to the masses, but also of an intellectual and moral improvement which is in direct ratio to the progress made <sup>25</sup>.

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engaged in industrial avocations so that the equilibrium, which it is so necessary to maintain in all well organised societies between the various elements of production, would be maintained. The accomplishment of this transformation in Japanese society would be obtained in virtue of a law, whose operation, if not interfered with, will tell as fatally as that of gravitation, and which, although called an invention of modern economists, is merely an amplification of this old Chinese precept as found in the canon of Yaou, Shooking, « Regulate at the same time, with exactness, the hundred kinds of labor, » etc., etc.

This is the chinese text :

之 位 致 中  
月 焉 中 第 庸  
焉 萬 和 一  
物 天 章  
地

<sup>25</sup> These good results would doubtless be owing to the carrying into practice, by the adoption of the measures alluded to above, of principles of sound national economy. In calling attention



and harness, book binding, covering of furniture, gloves, and, in fact, what not? The extension of the culture both of the mulberry and the paper-tree would also bring about a corresponding increase in the number of those engaged in the culture of silk-worms, the manufacture of silk and the making of paper. The same would be the case, in its special way, with the culture of tea. And from the birth or extension of these several industries would spring up hundreds of channels of trade for coal, iron, copper and lead. The presence of iron and lead in any great abundance in Japan is not yet fully demonstrated; but there is no question about that of coal; and that of copper is affirmed by competent engineers <sup>24</sup>.

But what shall Japan do, it may be said, with such a vast amount of products? Where shall it find a market for all this tea, this sugar, this timber, this silk, and the rest? Such fears as these, I hasten to say, need not be entertained. Providence that has done so much for Japan by giving her an exceptional climate and a docile, good tempered, frugal, intelligent and industrious population, has also provided, at her very door, the means for her to profit by these blessings. Without speaking of England, who probably would take from her all she could produce if there were

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<sup>24</sup> For the products of mines and quarries in Japan, see Appendix B, table.

not other countries nearer at hand to buy her productions, to the west lies China, where she can send all the timber, copper, wheat and tobacco that she may produce in excess of her own requirements. The accumulated wealth (silver) of this Great Empire, which now conceals itself in fear of the forced requisitions of a corrupt government, is very large and will be used by it in the satisfaction of its many wants the day it will be placed under a more enlightened rule. The exhausted soil of China which to-day, in many places, can not produce at all unless aided in its functions by the expensive addition of large quantities of manure, will hardly be able ever to produce all her people want; and Japan, being her nearest neighbor, will be her most convenient base of supply.

Again, on the east, is America, which is growing in size and population at an enormous rate and will take from Japan all the silk, tea <sup>25</sup>, porcelain and sugar she can send. For it is now proved

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<sup>25</sup> To this it will be objected that Japan is already out-running the American demand for that staple. But what does this prove, unless it is that Japanese growers are not yet capable of engaging in large operations of commerce requiring both experience of foreign markets, nice combinations and foresight? It weakens in no way the position which we assume in this paper that the American market will present an ever increasing outlet for such Japanese productions as we have named. To speak of tea alone, facts would tend to prove the correctness of our views.

that these first two staples can not well be grown in the United States, while sugar is not produced in sufficient quantities to supply an ever increasing demand, and the material for making porcelain is wanting. To give an idea of the importance of the American market to Japan, we need only show how rapid the increase in the demand for teas

From 1862/3 to 1866/7 the average yearly shipment of tea from both Yokohama and Kobe to the United States were..... 6,200,000  
 From 1867/8 to 1871/2 the same were..... 10,350,000  
 From 1872/3 to 1876/7 they were ..... 20,800,000  
 The average for 1865/6 and 1876/7 or two years has been ..... 24,000,000  
 as may be shown by the table hereunder given, kindly compiled for my purpose by Mr. J. Middleton of Yokohama :

| YEARS.       | QUANTITIES SHIP-<br>PED IN POUNDS. | TOTAL.      | AVERAGE FOR<br>EACH YEAR<br>IN POUNDS. |
|--------------|------------------------------------|-------------|--|
| 1862/3 ..... | 6,223,658                          | 31,060,407  | 6,210,000                              |
| 63/4 .....   | 4,683,044                          |             |  |
| 64/5 .....   | 5,239,480                          |             |  |
| 65/6 .....   | 7,524,561                          |             |  |
| 66/7 .....   | 7,389,664                          |             |  |
| 67/8 .....   | 9,011,968                          | 61,740,723  | 10,348,000                             |
| 68/9 .....   | 10,676,051                         |             |  |
| 69/70 .....  | 11,752,615                         |             |  |
| 70/71 .....  | 14,989,468                         |             |  |
| 71/72 .....  | 15,310,621                         |             |  |
| 72/73 .....  | 16,309,267                         | 104,145,844 | 20,830,000                             |
| 73/74 .....  | 17,476,915                         |             |  |
| 74/75 .....  | 22,230,518                         |             |  |
| 75/76 .....  | 25,210,802                         |             |  |
| 76/77 .....  | 22,918,342                         |             |  |



and silk, as caused by the growth of the population, has been in the United States in the past, and must continue to be, from the same cause, in the future. In 1810, the population of the United States was only 7,000,000; in 1820 it had risen to 10,000,000; in 1830 to over 12,000,000; in 1840 to 17,069,453; in 1850 to 23,191,876; in 1860 to 31,399,300; in 1870 to 41,609,000 <sup>26</sup>. Now it must be between 45 and 46 millions. In 1860 the density of this po-

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Consumption in America kept up with the production in Japan until 1873/74, and since then it has, probably, reached as high as 22,000,000 lbs. owing not only to the increase of the population, but also to the excessively low price at which the staple was offered by the American importers to the consumers, while the present capacity of Japan for export is equal to 28,000,000 or 30,000,000 lbs. ! Owing to causes which it would take too long to explain here, the consumption in America is likely to increase slowly, probably reaching 25,000,000 lbs. in three years. If the production in Japan should increase at the same rate it has heretofore, there will be no market for the surplus and, therefore, a loss to the country. It is true that tea is now prepared for England in a special manner. But I fear that this too is a dangerous experiment. To my vision a better plan would have been to render possible the association of the tea growers with skillful Western and American exporters who probably would have had the wisdom to prevent their native friends from injuring their trade, as they have done of late, not only by an excessive increase of their production but, besides, by the production of an article which, when compared to what it was when Japan was first opened to foreign trade, must be called inferior.

<sup>26</sup> Ninth census of the United States (1870) vol. 1. Report of the Superintendent etc., page 13.

pulation, the area of the country being 3,578,342 square miles, was  $10 \frac{11}{100}$  inhabitants to the square mile. If the United States had the density of population of Spain, its people would number 200,000,000, if of France, its population would be 500,000,000; and if of Belgium, there would be 1,180,000,000 souls thriving on its soil! Such figures as these speak for themselves.

Neither would the above be the only beneficial results that would accrue to the people from the introduction of improved modes of production in the empire. One of the heaviest burdens on agriculture would also be removed by it, that is, the excessive taxation. The value of the farming lands in Japan, calculated by the O-Kura-Sho, is estimated to be equal to 1,551,242,188.84 yen, which, calculating at the rate of  $11 \frac{56}{100}$  per cent<sup>27</sup>, would yield produce worth 180,744,715 yen, of which the government takes 46,537,265 yen, or about  $25 \frac{3}{4}$  per cent of the produce<sup>28</sup>. We may easily imagine, then, what a heavy drain upon the agricultural class is the tax collected from it by the government. But in the present condition of affairs in Japan, this evil is unavoidable. A certain sum of money being required to conduct

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<sup>27</sup> After farming implements in use among western nations, have been substituted for those now in use in the country, this figure would be raised. See appendix C.

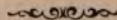
<sup>28</sup> This was written in January 1876 before the government reduced the land tax. See note 9, page 222.



the affairs of the state, it has to be procured from the only available source, the farmers, who, however hard the burden may be upon them, must submit. But if the production of the soil were to be increased in the way we have shown, the tax, by falling upon a greater superficies of ground, would be more divided, and, as a natural consequence, weigh less upon each individual, even if the demands of the state should increase in a large ratio. For instance, if the present uncultivated lands of Japan, covering 23,533,332 cho, were made use of, 10,442,772 cho, producing grape, tea, mulberry, sugar, wax, vegetables etc., and the remaining 13,090,560 cho supporting large herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, the produce of the former, being worth 461,290,587 yen, and of the latter, 15,736,700 yen, while the 4,091,113 cho already under cultivation would produce 180,827,194 yen, making altogether 657,954,482 yen, the revenue derived from it by the government, at the rate of only 15 per cent of gross produce, for instance, would be 98,678,172 yen, which although obtained from a tract of land about  $6\frac{3}{4}$  times as large as that from which the present revenue is derived, is only double the amount of that revenue, while the rate of assessment is two fifths lower than that which is now in vogue. Besides, we must take into consideration the increase in the revenue of the government



derived from manufactured articles and from various industries, which is now only 7,082,299 yen. The growth of this source of wealth would keep pace with the growth of agriculture and, with it, the revenue of the state might be increased in a corresponding ratio if found necessary. The government taxation upon the various articles of manufacture and production might be so judiciously distributed that its presence would scarcely be felt by the people. With regard to manufactured articles, I could quote tobacco, which has lately been taxed, where the duty falls lightly on the consumer and still forms an important item of revenue to the government. In what concerns other branches of industry it would be the same. With such an increased revenue from other sources than the land, a new assessment of taxes on the latter on the most liberal basis would, in time, be possible, and the agricultural classes become at last emancipated from their present difficult circumstances.



## CHAPTER XI.

### PROSPERITY OR RUIN.

In both the exploration and working of the broad field we have tried to describe in the preceding chapter, the *kuwazoku* would be expected to take the initiatory step<sup>1</sup>, thereby preparing the people for the progressive effort by which the important results we have indicated might be ultimately gained. The merits of the new methods having been once practically demonstrated to the people, they would not be slow in adopting them. The husbandman, for instance, who to-day turns a deaf ear to the government's suggestions to reclaim the wilds adjoining his farm, because he prefers putting his savings on interest whereby he realizes ten per cent<sup>2</sup> without any of the additional labor which he believes their investment at six per cent, in an agricultural enterprise must submit him to, would, then, realize the fact that the extension of his farm with the aid of machinery, instead of entailing additional toil on him, in the end must be the means of bringing him relief. If his land were too small to adapt

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<sup>1</sup> See pages 137, 138, 163 and 164.

<sup>2</sup> See pages 218, 219, note 10.

to a division in fields of sufficient size to be easily worked with the required distribution of crops with the aid of the improved kind of mechanical labor he had found advantageous to adopt, or his capital were insufficient, he would unite his forces with others and what a single individual with three or four tans of land and but a few dollars savings could not well have undertaken, an association of a hundred persons with thirty or forty cho and a capital of a few hundred dollars could easily accomplish<sup>3</sup>. The same line of argument would apply to forestry, fisheries, manufactures and mining.

However, in preference to the majorat scheme the government would seem to have adopted another plan in furtherance of which the bonds

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<sup>3</sup> This could be done on the plan of the Dokiosha (the united land company) of which Mr. D. W. Ap. Jones gives the following account in one of his reports to the Secretary of the treasury, Mr. Okuma :

« In the plain of Yamagisawa (Shimosa) there is in organization termed Dokiosha, formed about five years ago (1869). They are all of Sakura in the province of Shimosa. It seems that, through prince Hota, they obtained a tract of land. They formed themselves into a company under the above name. As the land was improved the shares of this company were estimated at ten dollars each. They cleared the land and prepared it for tillage, and afterwards planted it in tea and mulberry. The shares are now worth one hundred and fifty dollars each. Two of the late karos of that prince and twenty two of the principal retainers were the originators of this company. The property in the beginning was only valued at \$240. Its present value is \$72,000. The company numbers 480 members, and they all work. The hand that so lately only wielded the sword now handles the heavy plow. This number is divided into six sections of eighty persons or companies.



given to the nobles in liquidation of their capitalized pensions <sup>4</sup>, have been made use of to form the kuwazoku bank which in connection with establishments of a similar kind scattered throughout the country, would lend funds to such enterprising natives as with the assistance of persons now educated in the several government technical schools, would feel disposed to engage in the development of the resources of the country without the aid of transient immigration <sup>5</sup>.

To my vision this plan presents grave defects. In the first place graduates of government schools would hardly be competent for the task before them. For although having a fair technical knowledge, they would be without the necessary experience which can not be taught to them on the benches of schools. Those who have lived in western countries or in America, all know the difference that is made between a brilliant scholar or professor and an expert practitioner in the

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One of these works five days at a time ; then another takes its place, so that there are always eighty men at work on the farm. From the karos down they all work. They have planted quite a large tract in tea and mulberry, and are constantly preparing more ground to be used in the same manner. As their tea plants and mulberry trees are becoming older the shares of the company are constantly increasing in value. Now these gentlemen unused to manual labor, unaided by any agricultural implements, have given a value, entirely by their labor, of \$72,000 to a property which, before any labor was bestowed on it, was only worth \$240. This company is worthy of some special recognition by the government.»

<sup>4</sup> See note 19, pages 104 to 107.

<sup>5</sup> See pages ~~174~~ to 178:

156 157

fulfillment of duties that require both knowledge, acquired through education and skill gained through long experience in the applying of theories principles and methods. A young man who has just completed his course of studies in law, in science, in political economy, in industry or in commerce, and is, perhaps, better posted on books than most practitioners, is not for all that a legist, a chemist, a statesman, an engineer, a manufacturer or a merchant. Were it otherwise, the professors whose hair has grown grey in their chairs, would be the most successful in the practical avocations of life; and we know that such is not the case. Those who have acquired a great name as men of letters or professors, are the most apt to throw light on truth. They excel in presenting the truth with art; and with this gift often they have an unrivaled power in the diffusion of truth among the people. But this superior intuition of certain questions is invariably coupled with a sad ignorance of all others; and their talents are sterile when it is necessary to elucidate general facts and come to some practical solution in regard to them. But to return, not only the graduates of the government technical schools in Japan have, as I have said, none of this practical experience that is so essential, but, besides, the training received by them in establishments in which everything is done, to



say the least, with reckless prodigality, without any thought being ever given to economy or profit, would leave them without other most essential requisites for the fulfillment of their trust. And the fact that they would be operating with the capital of others instead of their own would not be apt to render them either cautions or saving. For it is only those that have earned money by hard toil, generally, that know its value.

With the *kuwazoku* and the people assisted by transient immigration, matters would be different. The nobles would invest in their enterprises that upon which, to-day, most of them depend for support; and it is to be expected that they would carefully watch over the employ that it would be put to. Besides, the transient immigrants whom they would interest in their own enterprises could be expected to protect them against their own imprudence. And to make sure that in this respect these associates would do their duty, it might be prescribed by law <sup>6</sup> that none but those foreigners who would consent to invest their own means in the enterprises they would undertake to direct, and for a period equal to the term of their engagement, could be eligible to form an association with the nobles <sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>6</sup> See pages 156, 157 and 158.

<sup>7</sup> In many cases favorable arrangements similar to the following which, through Mr. D. W. Ap. Jones, of the Shimosa



The wise example given by the nobles would not be lost on the people. And it would be only

government sheep farm some of the merchant-princes of California desired me to conclude for them with the Japanese government for the introduction of sheep in the country, could be made. It was proposed that Mr. Jones should enter into an engagement with the Japanese government for the acclimatization, in twelve years, of 100,000 head of ewes born in the country, to be delivered by him to the government in lots of ten and twenty thousand at different specified periods, and for which he was to be paid at the rate of \$7 a piece for all castrated sheep and \$4 a piece for wethers of one year old and upwards, that is to say, at a price that was less than the cost of transportation of these animals that have since been brought from California to the government farm of Shimosa. The cost of purchasing the original breeding stock in foreign countries, of shipment to Yokohama and the wages of the overseers and laborers, both foreign and native, required in attending to the care of the farm on which the sheep would be raised, were all to be borne by Mr. Jones. All he asked from the government besides the regular stipulated price for his sheep was, *first*, a sure market for the wool produced during the twelve years his operations would last and which he would dispose of at the current rates in Yokohama on the day of the sale; *second*, the use of \$5000 worth of agricultural implements and of suitable buildings for himself, assistants, laborers and animals; and, *third*, 15,000 acres of land which, after their conversion into suitable pastures at the expense of the government but under his own responsibility, he would continue to cultivate until the end of twelve years, when he would return them to the government, abandoning all the increased value he would have given to them by means of the labor and money spent by him; and in order to better protect himself from undue interference in the management of this land, he provided that all the sheep delivered to the government should be kept on branch farms to be located in the different kens at the pleasure of the government and managed by their own officers. This proposition was made to the government in writing, on the 18th February, 1875.

after the latter had acquired the necessary experience, accumulated the required capital and seen sufficient outlets assured to the products of their labors that they would follow in the steps of the owners of the majorats, so as to concur with them in the development of the resources of the Empire. I am aware that under these conditions, their progress would be slow. But that should not be regretted. For it is only by a very slow and considerate progress that the work of national reconstruction and industrial reorganization in Japan through the people can be made successful. In all probability matters would proceed like this. For instance sheep having been successfully introduced in a district, at first, the wool produced would be woven into coarse cloth by the people's wives and daughters, their hand manufactures being purchased by the state for the use of the soldier, sailor and the police. And it is only after the woollen goods had begun to come into more general use that steam mills would commence to be thought of for the making of the finer grades of goods. But the hand weaving would not be given up; for, by this time, the production of the rough material would have increased and besides, by that time, the soldier and the sailor, the farmer and the higher classes of artisans would have commenced to use garments made of the new material.

Nothing of the kind would be seen under the bank system. For with it, I can only imagine a youth without experience, from the start erecting costly steam manufactories on the plan of those seen in France, Belgium or England, in which quantities of cloth would be made before the people had realized the benefit to be derived from the use of it; or else, with a view to find a market for the products of their mills, the manufacturers, in their patriotic enthusiasm, anxious, from the start, to equal if not to surpass foreign countries, would construct expensive railroads before the resources of the districts the lines would pass through had been ascertained, thereby exposing themselves to suffer from the same mistakes that were made in the United States from 1854 to 1857, and in Peru, a few years ago and which caused an immense waste of capital and the loss of princely fortunes. And neither would the evil consequences of this system be confined to this. For every paper yen printed for the use of the banks that would have provided with the necessary means all these untimely enterprises, represented, at the time of its issue, a capital hypothecated upon the expected prosperity of these industries and the fortune of which it would have followed step by step, and thus the day these industries failed the paper yen would be worthless. But inasmuch as, by that time, it



would have passed into general circulation, its fall would be the cause of universal ruin involving suffering and disorders for the country, the effects of which for evil defy all calculation and foresight.



**CONFIDENTIAL**

## APPENDIX A.

Pages 107, 108 and 109 :

« In its wisdom the government, equally anxious both to emancipate the people from old prejudices and superstitions of native growth and protect them against such as possibly might come from without, encouraged the spread of scientific information and useful knowledge. Schools, organized on an eclectic plan, had been open for the education of both sexes ; and they were extensively patronized by the people. Iyeyasu's intolerant decree against foreign religious creeds had been repealed. »

To my vision Japan reached the limits of religious toleration when Iyeyasu's intolerant decree against foreign religious creeds was repealed. In fact there are no reasons why we should ask her to do more ; and there are many why we should not. I am not one of those who believe that there is more chance of salvation for man in one religion than in an other. And I fully agree with the Siamese king who thought that every one, individuals as well as nations, should be left entire freedom of religious faith. And I take it to be a strange presumption for us to interest ourselves so much in affairs which concern only God, whilst He, seems to leave it wholly to our discretion. Had it been agreeable to the Creator that all nations should have the same form of worship, would it not have been easy to His omnipotence to have created all men with the same sentiments and dispositions ; and to have inspired them with the same notions of the true religion



as to endow them with such different tempers and inclinations? Ought they not rather to believe that the true God has as much pleasure in being honored by a variety of forms and ceremonies as in being praised and glorified by a number of different creatures? Or why should that beauty and variety so admirable in the natural order of things, be less admirable, or less worthy of the wisdom of God in the supernatural?<sup>1</sup>

As it is, the religion of the Japanese consists in the belief that the productive ethereal spirit being expanded through the whole universe every part is in some degree impregnated with it; and therefore every part is in some measure the seat of the Deity; whence local Gods and Goddesses are everywhere worshiped and consequently multiplied without end<sup>2</sup>. Like the ancient Romans and the Greeks they acknowledge a supreme Being, the first, the supreme, the intellectual<sup>3</sup>, by which men have been

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<sup>1</sup> Voyage de Siam, quoted by R. P. Knight. An inquiry into the symbolical language, London, 1836.

<sup>2</sup> The appearance of anything unusual at a particular spot is held to be a sure sign of the presence of the divinity. Near the house where I live in Ko-ishi-kawa, Tokio, is a small Miya built at the foot of a very old tree that stands isolated on the edge of a rice field. The spot looks somewhat insignificant, but upon inquiring why a shrine had been placed there, I was told that a white snake had been found at the foot of the old tree.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, *de Is-et Osir*.

We read in the great prayers of the Sinto faith: « In the beginning the earth was like a drop of oil floating on the surface of the water; and, then appeared there, first the Almighty whom we call Kuni-toko-tachi-no-mikoto, next Tsuchi-no-mikoto and third Toyo-no-mikoto.

« These are the three Kami known as self-existent beings » (XVI, universal prayer).

reclaimed from rudeness and barbarism to elegance and refinement and been taught, through privileged men and

This triform division of the personified attributes or modes of action of one first cause, seems to have been the first departure from simple theism and the foundation of religious mythology in every part of the earth. To trace its origin to patriarchal traditions, or seek for it in the philosophy of any particular people, will only lead to frivolous conjecture, or to fraud and forgery; which have been abundantly employed upon this subject: nor has repeated detection and exposure damped the ardor or abashed the effrontery of those, who still find them convenient to support their theories and opinions (See sibylline verses, oracles, etc., forged by the Alexandrian Jews and Platonic Christians, but quoted as authentic by Mr. Bryant, on Ancient Mythology; and Mr. Maurice's Indian Antiq. vol. IV).

\* \* The supreme triad, thus represented at Hierapolis, assumed different forms and names in different mystic temples. In that of Samothrace it appeared in three celebrated statues of Scopas, called Venus, Pothos and Phaëton (Plin. lib. XXXIV. c. 4.), or Nature, Attraction and Light; (*Πόθος*, desire. *Φαέτων* is an Homeric title of the sun, signifying splendid and luminous; but afterwards personified by the mythologists into a son of Apollo) and at Upsal in Sweden, by three figures equally symbolical, called Odin, Freia and Thor; the first of which comprehended the attributes of Jupiter and Mars, the second those of Juno and Venus, and the third those of Hercules and Bacchus, together with the thunder of Jupiter: for Thor, as mediator between heaven and earth, had the general command of the terrestrial atmosphere (Mallet, Hist. de Danemarck. Introduc. c. VII. p. 115). Thor bore the club of Hercules; but like Bacchus he was the god of the seasons, and his chariot was drawn by goats. (Ibid. et Oda Thrymi Edd. XXI. Ol. Rudbeck. tab. X, fig. 28). Among the Chinese sects, which have retained or adopted the symbolical worship, a triple personification of one godhead is comprehended in the goddess Kouan-Yu, whom they represent sitting upon the lotus, called, in that country, *Lien*, and with many arms, carrying different symbols, to signify the different operations



women<sup>4</sup>, not only to live with more comfort but to die

of nature.—(See *Mémoires sur la Chine*, Religion, by le comte d'Escayrac de Lauture, Paris, 1865.)—A similar union of attributes was expressed in the Scandinavian goddess Isa or Disa; who in one of her personifications appeared riding upon a ram accompanied with music, to signify like Pan, the principle of universal harmony; and, in another, upon a goat, with a quiver of arrows at her back, and ears of corn in her hand, to signify her dominion over generation, vegetation and destruction. The catholics represent their trinity by a triangle with an eye in the center. It is said that this symbole was borrowed from the Egyptians who are known to have signified their divine triade by a simple triangle (See Plut. de *Is-et Osir*, page 373) which sometimes appears upon Greek monuments and particularly on the coins of the colonies of Magna Gracia (See *an inquiry into the symbolical language of ancient art and mythology*, by R. P. Knight, Esq., London 1836, page 69). So we see the real source of Trinity in Unity is in the human mind itself; whose feeble and inadequate attempts to form an idea of one universal first cause would naturally end in generalizing and classing the particular ideas derived from the senses, and thus forming distinct, though indefinite notions of certain attributes or modes of action; of which the generic divisions are universally three, such as goodness, wisdom and power; creation, preservation and destruction; potential, instrumental and efficient, etc. etc. Hence almost every nation that has deviated from the rude simplicity of primitive Theism, has had its Trinity in Unity. (See *an inquiry into the symbolical language* etc., by R. P. Knight, Esq. London 1836).

<sup>4</sup> Thus, as we have seen, Ten-sho Dai-jin had given the country the three treasures (See note 1, page 27); Taku-hatachichi-hime-no-mikoto had invented the art of weaving cloth; Taoki-ho-hi-no-mikoto and Iiko-sachi-no-mikoto had discovered the art of constructing houses; while Ishi-kori-some-no-mikoto first made household utensils. Prayer XX of the book of prayers of the Sinto faith is addressed to an other class of public benefactors. It reads thus: « By the commands of Kamuragi-no-mikoto and Kamurome-no-mikoto, Oki-tsu



hiko-no-kami and Oki-tsu-hime-no-mikoto made a furnace for the purpose of cooking food for Sume-mi-ma-na-no-mikoto. Then the Kami of fire and of metals cast pots the Kami of clay built the furnace, and several things obtained from rice fields, uplands, rivers and mountains were boiled with the assistance of the Kami of wood, fire and water. \* \* \* \* We say most humbly let our firesides be prosperous, our relations amicable and misfortunes from fire quickly averted from us » The prayer to the Kami who guard the five cereals : wheat, rice, millet, beans and kibi is also characteristic. These Kami taught husbandry to the people : « With great respect we ask you to preserve the five cereals through endless ages that not only the Mikado but his people and also their descendants may have no deficiency of grain » (Prayer XXI). But, will it be said, all these facts refer to the Sinto religion and the majority of Japanese are Buddhist. To this the reply is very simple : Although they may be Buddhist, still they all acknowledge in principle the general expansion of a productive ethereal spirit throughout the world and its action by the agency of privileged beings whom they honor and worship in the same spirit as Sintoists do. Thus, while in the houses of Japanese Buddhists we do not see any image of Kuni-tokotsuchi-no-mikoto, still we often notice representations of Ten-sho Dai-jin, of Jinmu-Ten O, of Iyeyasu, Konpira and other great men ; like Sintoists they consecrate in their own families the objects of their admiration, gratitude or esteem and address them with whatever rites of devotion they think proper. Or else if they pass unexpectedly before a shrine they acknowledge the spot to be the seat of the deity and like Sintoist, « respectfully bow down and worship. » (Great prayers of the Sinto faith, quoted above, No. 30).

So we see the foundation of all religions in Japan is Sinto ; that is the national faith. And to my vision what could happen best to the people would be that Sinto should be remodeled, like all religions must be from time to time, and in fact as all have been or will be conformably to the requirements of the times. Then if it were propagated by a highly moral class of men, and if its worship were rendered more impressive by

with better hopes<sup>5</sup>. I have very great doubts whether the people in Japan would be as much benefited by the well devised ceremonies it might yet obtain the same hold upon the ignorant and the weak which Buddhism once had, but which, with the rapid progress national mind is making under the present system of education, cannot long be maintained. In its new form Sinto could be made much superior to Roman Catholicism and be rendered as efficient in Japan as the most popular sects of protestantism are elsewhere. Like the latter it has the merit of being iconoclastic, and in addition it would have for Japanese the merit of being of indigeneous origin and growth.

The word Sinto, or more correctly, Shintô, was never applied to the national religion of Japan previous to the introduction of Confucianism in the country.

When Chinese literature was imported into Japan, says Mr. Sato in *The revival of pure Shintô*, people adopted many Chinese ideas, laws, customs and practices which they so mixed up with their own that it became necessary to adopt a special name for the ancient native customs, which were in consequence called *Kami no michi* or Shinto, the word *michi* being applied in the same sense as the Chinese *Tô* (*tao*) and *Kami* because of their divine origin.

My own opinion is that Shintô is derived from the Chinese word *Chen-tao* (*Tao*, way and *Chen*, Gods, or the way of the Gods; in Japanese, *Kami no michi*,) which is the religion of Lao Tseu also called Tao, a sort of primitive naturalism or heroes worship mixed with various superstitions and with which the Japanese religion has so much in common.—See the remarkable essay on Shintô which Mr. Sato has published in the *transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, vol. III, part I, page 29, Yokohama 1875. See also *Mémoires sur la Chine*, Religion, by le comte d'Escayrac de Lauture, Paris 1865, in which is to be found an excellent exposition of the doctrine of Lao Tseu.

<sup>5</sup> A proof that Sintoists believe in a better world is found in prayer No. 30 of the book we have quoted above; which reads thus:

« O my ancesster !

« There is the Almighty by whom are governed the lives and deaths of all creatures.

introduction of a foreign religion among them as it is commonly believed. Nations as well as individuals have each a peculiar natural organization which has also its peculiar requirements. What will suit the one is often antagonistic to the other. Both may aim at the same end, but it will be found that they are invariably inclined to attain that end through different means. Nothing could better illustrate this principle than what has taken place in past ages at the antipodes of the globe we inhabit.

There we see two civilizations that have developed not only independently, but each for ages in entire ignorance of the existence of the other, having the same object in view while their roads to it were almost diametrically opposite. I refer to the nations of Asia and those of Europe and their offspring in America. Both the one and the other repeated in their cradle the maxims which on their respective lips, seem to be a single echo from the Heaven \* that surrounds them both, and

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« He is the most virtuous Kami that we have ever known.

« Turn your soul toward him for you came here by his command and you are going back by his command.

« Go soon near to him and tell him what you have done here and live in *llino waka miya* forever my ancestor.» (*Hi* means fire, *waka* young and *miya* palace. *He no waka miya* is the name of the place in heaven where one goes after death.)

Before we were born  
The Kami took care of us  
While we are living  
The Kami takes care of us  
After we die  
The Kami will take care of us.

\* We read in the Chinese classics :

Tseu see said : Who is sincere and attentive not to do to others what he should not wish to be done to himself, is not far from the law. That which one desire not being done to



which the Japanese have so happily called the golden rule<sup>7</sup>. Do not do unto others that which you would not have others do unto you, as the source from which all religions and social axioms must follow, and by following which humanity is more apt to fulfill its destiny than by taking any other course. The manner in which the two civilizations of the east and west respectively carried this principle into practice were so strikingly different that after they became known to each other, much time had to pass before they commenced to perceive the community of ideas and views that existed between them as to the end they both had in view. In spite of this, however, the results of their labors from the past to the present have been very much the same. In fact when we come to examine the individual progress which they have made we are brought to the conclusion that until lately they have pretty much kept pace with each other. It is only during the last two hundred years that in what concerns the exact sciences western nations have gained on the eastern. If we look at the respective conditions in which Europe and Asia were in the days of Hung Who, the founder of the Ming dynasty (1368), for instance, it would not be difficult to decide which were ahead, China and Japan or England and the other nations of Europe, and who could say to-day which will be the most power-

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himself, let him not do to others (the immutable medium 中庸 chapter XIII, paragraph 13.

忠恕違道不遠施諸已而不願亦勿施於人

Half a century later Christ said:

« Therefore all things whatever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even do so to them » (See the new testament, St. Mathew II; chapter VII, 12).

<sup>7</sup> Legacy of Iyeyasu, etc. capt. XXXI.

ful and advanced in two hundred years to come, for fate is capricious :

*Servis regna dabunt, captivis fata triumphos* \*.

But to speak of the Japanese alone it would seem to me that their religion has gained in their country the

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\* Juvenal, *Satyra* VII, vers. 201.

\* \* La Chine étale sur la longue liste de ses dynasties toutes les révolutions de l'Europe. Ses *philosophes* paraissent au temps de Pythagore, ses *conquérants* aux temps d'Alexandre et des Romains, ses *rédempteurs* aux jours de Jésus-Christ, ses *barbares* quand les Goths et les Vandales arrivent en occident, ses *empereurs-pontifes* quand Grégoire-le-Grand fonde la papauté, ses *docteurs* à l'époque d'Abailard et de Saint-Thomas, son meilleur *théâtre* quand on lit la *Divine Comédie*, ses *poètes* agréables, sa *renaissance* et l'étude de son antiquité dans les périodes de Pétrarque, de Boccace, de nos latinistes, de nos hellénistes, enfin ses dernières *révolutions* politiques et religieuses portent les dates des traités de Westphalie et de la révolution française.

Pendant les deux premiers tiers de sa carrière, la Chine devance d'une génération l'occident et justifie ainsi le mot *ex oriente lux*. Lao vient trente ans avant Jésus-Christ ; il y a même anticipation dans la conversion au bouddhisme qui précède les conversions au Christianisme. Avec les papes, le retard de l'Europe disparaît, et les deux régions marchant de niveau avec une telle précision qu'en 600, en 960, en 1250, en 1400, les coïncidences des révolutions géographiques et politiques tiennent du prodige. Quand enfin on dépasse l'an 1400, la Chine est en retard peut-être d'un intervalle de trente ans, en sorte que, si au commencement les règles de la narration nous imposaient d'expliquer l'Europe par la Chine, Socrate par Confucius, les Romains par les Tsin, dans les temps modernes et surtout dans le moment actuel, c'est plutôt l'Europe qui rend compte de la Chine.

Ce retard de la Chine, cette accélération de l'Europe sont dus au génie de notre race, qui travaille enfin sur les données de l'expérience et se dérobe à la domination de la mythologie chrétienne. Le bon sens chinois nous surpassait tant que nos



object which all religions have, as well, to say the least as they have anywhere else. For with the exception of some traits which are remains of the ignorance of the

religions gaspillaient nos forces et nous jetaient à la conquête tantôt de la toison d'or, tantôt de Jérusalem ; alors Confucius battait les Evangélistes, les mandarins étaient supérieurs aux évêques, et notre plus grand soin était d'enchaîner et de persécuter nos inventeurs et nos hommes de génie. Mais les données de la renaissance, de la réformation et de la révolution française rendent le bon sens à nos rois, à nos tribuns, à nos chefs ; ils ne sont plus aliénés dans l'Eglise ou du moins ils sont en voie de guérison. Dès lors ils deviennent à peu près des mandarins ; dès lors la supériorité de notre race nous rend plus rapides que les lettrés de la Chine. De là l'artillerie, qui nous donne le nouveau monde et reste stérile entre les mains des Chinois ; de là notre exploration du globe et notre domination sur toutes les côtes, tandis que les Chinois n'arrivent pas en Europe, voyagent sur nos navires, et s'étendent en esclaves, en travailleurs, en ouvriers, sans aspirer à aucune conquête.

.....  
Les dangers actuels de l'Europe viennent de la Russie et de l'Amérique. Au point de vue du progrès, de la population, des ressources naturelles, de l'expansion assurée, il y a là un excédant de forces qui déplacera les entourages des nations, et déterminera des révolutions inattendues. Dès 1789 la France se trouve entre la double influence de la république et du Czar, et même aujourd'hui l'Angleterre redoute avant tout les Américains et les Russes. Ce sont aussi les ennemis que redoute la Chine, et si notre civilisation est condamnée à se frayer sa route entre ces deux extrêmes avec les explosions latines et les prodiges de la science, dans la prochaine période de 1875 à 2000 la Chine résoudra à son tour le même problème en quatre temps avec les lettrés de Pé-King et les rebelles de Chen-si. Elle a si souvent passé des phases les plus sanguinaires aux plus pacifiques qu'elle pourra commenter les King avec nos sciences physiques avant que nous arrivions au règne des fonctionnaires philosophes. (La Chine devant l'Europe, etc., etc. par Joseph Ferrari, Paris, 1857).



past and which will soon disappear as the people will advance in knowledge, the Japanese nation in a moral point of view has nothing to copy from us. In fact in many respects they are our superiors. Their goodness of heart manifests itself in touching acts in every day's life. Not only the members of each individual family, but also the people at large are bound together by the most tender ties. The unfortunate seldom applies in vain to his neighbor for help; and the animals themselves both domestic and wild are benefited by this disposition of the people. The horse, the cow, the dog are never overworked or abused and there is no family so poor but that after each morning and evening meal it will have a few grains of rice to spread in front of the door for the birds to feed on. In this way the whole creation, according to their understanding of the law is bound to partake with them of the blessings dispensed to them under the azure heaven their common roof and on earth their common-home.

As to those who believe in the divine mission of christianity, they need not have any apprehension as to missionary enterprise in the empire. The Japanese will not impede its progress. In fact, their rulers would never have interfered with it if Roman Catholics had not deviated from the doctrine of love and charity, the diffusion of which it was believed at first was the sole aim of christianity. So long as the key stone of the national edifice as stamped by the religious faith of the majority of the people interested in its maintenance is not threatened by new creeds very little or no notice is paid to them anywhere. When individuals of one and the same nation quarrel about religion it is less because of the irritation caused by their failure to agree upon principles of ethics than because of the relative po-

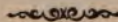
litical force and power which these principles are supposed to carry with them, and the consequent dangers which the triumph of one over the other is supposed to involve. In this way when a schism breaks out in the midst of the people it is not the religious feelings of the greater number of them that are apt to be wounded, but the interest that are most dear to them, that is their social and political privilege which they believe would be compromised by the political changes that the introduction of a new religion among them would cause. But let it once become apparent that the new dogmas are harmless and carry in them nothing that could possibly interfere with the political and social interests of the commonwealth and it is hardly probable that they will cause any distrust or suspicions except perhaps to a few enthusiasts. The Romans having made of their metropolis the chief city of the world never failed to bring into their capital the gods of the nation they conquered. But when it came to christianity in which a principle antagonistic to their claim to supreme domination prevailed, they opposed it with all their might. So it was with the societies in the middle age in Europe in which catholicism represented the principle of absolute authority in matters of thoughts to which corresponded the system of political despotism that obtained in these societies. If wars of religion broke out in those societies after the apparition of protestantism it was simply owing to the fact that the germ of individual independence contained in the principle of discussion and investigation introduced by Luther and Calvin, in religious matters threatened the political fabrics founded upon the Roman Catholic faith. Not one of the religious troubles that ever took place in China, Japan or the United States of America had its origin in religious fanaticism. If the superstitions of the ignorant people was brought into play



in such cases it was more as a means than as a cause. The politicians finding their position compromised by the apparition or over-extension in the midst of the people of dogmas containing principles adverse to their interests, determined to eradicate them at any cost and to enable them to do this, roused the fanatic feelings of those whom they considered to be their friends against the fanatic feelings of those whom they held to be their foes. If christianity was ever persecuted in China it was owing to political motives solely. Iyeyasu, the great Japanese warrior, statesman and legislator of the 17th century, had no other reason for hurling such an anathema against catholicism as is recorded in his legacy<sup>9</sup>. In our own days and under our very eyes, in the United States of America, if some of the most eminent men of the country show hostility to the Roman Catholics it is solely because of the interference of their priests with public education in a way that seems undesirable. If christian missionaries should show a similar disposition in Japan there is not the least doubt left in my mind that they would be restrained. But so long as they will confine themselves to religious affairs it is most likely that they will be allowed to go on undisturbed with their labors. So we see in matters of religion, as in many other respects, the Japanese are far more advanced than most Asiatic nations. Not only Iyeyasu's decree has been repealed, but the order of the government with regards to religious toleration has been faithfully respected by the people, a result which, as may be seen by a paper which I published in 1870 and which I give hereunder, has not yet been attained in China.

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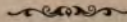
<sup>9</sup> Legacy of Iyeyasu, etc. chapt. XXXI.





## THE LITERATI,

AND THEIR INFLUENCE IN THE GOVERNMENT IN CHINA.



Avec le monde a commencé une guerre qui doit finir avec  
« le monde, et pas avant, celle de l'homme contre la nature, de  
« l'esprit contre la matière, de la Liberté contre la fatalité.  
« L'histoire n'est pas autre chose que le récit de cette lutte.»  
« (J. Michelet. *Introduction à l'histoire universelle*, page 1).

The late massacres at Tien-tsin offer but a new instance of the madness of man when blinded by fanaticism and priestcraft.

Before the new era, inaugurated by Luther and Calvin, had fairly commenced in Europe, Germany and Switzerland had their stakes (1404-1553), France, Italy and Spain, their Inquisition (1478), their St. Bartholomew (1572), the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685); and now it is China's turn, on the eve, let us hope, of a great transformation, to give us the sad spectacle of her mournful hecatombs. This will become apparent by a reference to the religious principles of the ruling classes in that great empire.

Confucius writes: «Ty-kih is revealed in Y-king. What does Ty-kih<sup>1</sup> mean? It means the Chaos, when light and darkness were not; the one not having been separated from the other. There is no name for Ty-kih; therefore it was called Ty-kih. From Ty-kih comes

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<sup>1</sup> *Ty*, in Chinese, means, the utmost point, greatest, &c. and *Kih*, extreme.

Liang-e<sup>2</sup> (divine object, the creation), which itself is formed of Ty-yang (eternity, male, man, sun, light, &c.), and Ty-ying (moon, night, female, everything which is uncertain).» (*Y-king, Book V, page 14*)<sup>3</sup>. *Ty-kih*, *Liang-e*, *Ty-yang*, and *Ty-ying*, are the abstract ideas upon which the system of thoughts of the Chinese, so to speak, is based; and the radicals of their system of writing are their corresponding symbols.

These symbols are, for *Ty-kih*, a circle, ○, for *Liang-e*, a circle divided in two parts, one black and the other white, with a dot on the right corner, representing the moon rising in the heavens, ☉. The upper part of the latter figure represents *Ty-yang*, and the lower one *Ty-ying*.

The first radical is made of the circumference of the circle unrolled. It is a single and continuous line, thus ———, and it conveys the idea of heaven, of light, of what is eternal, infinite, innumerable, invariable, affirmed, &c. The same line broken, interrupted, thus — — —,

<sup>2</sup> *Liang-e* comes from *Liang*, two, and *E*, power of nature. *Yang*, in *Ty-yang*, signifies sun, or the superior of two things in contact; while *Yin*, in *Ty-yin*, means moon, or the inferior of two things in contact.

<sup>3</sup> The following is the Chinese text of this quotation of *Y-king*:

|             |     |
|-------------|-----|
| 是陽象八兩故是極名未是 | 易   |
| 謂四老卦儀以生     | 之分故 |
| 八象陰陰生一兩     | 狀混易 |
| 卦之老陽四儀      | 強而有 |
| 上陽分象狀陰      | 名為太 |
| 加少老四之陽      | 之一極 |
| 四陰少象也難      | 曰難陰 |
| 象少四生狀       | 太以陽 |

經  
 十  
 四  
 篇  
 繫辭卷五

makes the second radical, which represents darkness, finite things, earth, time, contradiction, &c.

Now, from the combination of both lines, as from the combination of the heavens and the earth, of darkness and of light, all the other signs are derived, of which the most prominent are those that designate the waters without limits, ☵, the winds, ☳, ether, fire, ☲, the mountains, ☶, thunder, ☳, &c. In this manner the heavens and the earth, the infinite and the finite, represented by strokes, are the a b c of the Chinese written language. According to tradition, it was given to man by Foh-he, who himself received it from God.

The Chinese revealer, Foh-he,<sup>4</sup> was born from a virgin, who conceived him while walking solitarily on the footsteps of an old man. « Foh-he's mother was living near a small river, at a place called *Hwa-su*, situated in the hien (district) called *Lan Ti-en*, in the province of *Shen-si*.<sup>5</sup> » She saw the ghost of a man passing by, and she walked on his footsteps ; she felt a sensation in her breast ; a rainbow, as a halo of glory, encircled her head ; she was pregnant ; and Foh-he was born from her, in the district of Ching-ki. The two principles were concentrated in Foh-he, and he had within himself the goodness of all creation<sup>6</sup>.

Foh-he went to the lowlands on the banks of the Wha-seu River ; there he found, attached to the slime, a

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<sup>4</sup> *Foh-he* is also named *Pou-he*. The Chinese *Foh* means inclosed in (the empire), and *he*, supreme ruler : the supreme ruler of the empire. Confucius says in his commentary of *Y-king* : « *Foh-he had everything within himself.* » (*Y-king* commentary by Confucius, Book V, page 18 )

<sup>5</sup> The region west of the Yellow River.

<sup>6</sup> Being so born (of Heaven), like winds that spread and move rapidly, he had the beneficent influence of the Holy



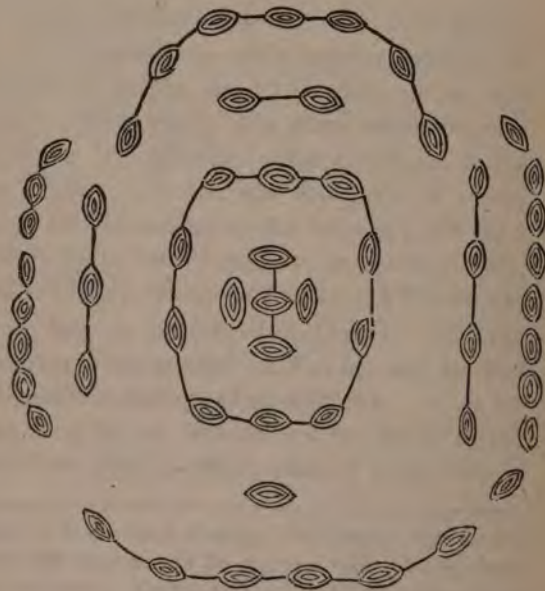


(FIG. 1.)

**THE HAUTAU,**

*or the figures as seen on the back of the Dragon-Horse,  
according to Y-King, Chiu-i Ting-kee, Book II,  
page 53.—See explanatory note inserted  
between pages 274 and 275.*

形毛旋背馬象本圖河



monstrous animal (some say a turtle, some say a dragon-horse<sup>7</sup>), on whose scales, of the color of the heavens were mysterious figures written, bearing the stamp of eternal wisdom. The Hautou (river-picture) was revealed to him from the waters <sup>8</sup>. (See Fig. 1).

Spirit and the brightness of the sun and of the moon ; therefore he became the first ruler (of China).

綱鑑補卷一第七篇  
太昊之母居於華胥之渚華胥  
地名在陝西藍田縣履巨人跡  
意有所動虹旦達之遂因而娠  
生帝于成紀成紀縣名故風姓  
有聖德象日月之明故曰太昊

<sup>7</sup> Although the turtle is not referred to in the Y-king commentary by Confucius, there is no doubt that it was known before his time. (Y-king-ty-tche, 1st book, 2d page).

<sup>8</sup> The dragon-horse emerged from the waters, and, according to tradition, he had in him the spirit of heaven and of earth. He resembled a horse with the scales of a dragon, and therefore he was called a dragon-horse. He was 8 feet 5 inches in height, of about the size of a camel. He had wings so that he could move on the water, without danger. He came in those days, there being a wise man (Foh-he) capable to understand his teachings. (Kang-kien-pu, 8th page, 1st book).

綱鑑補卷一  
又因龍馬負圖出  
于河之瑞接孔安  
國云龍馬者天地  
人精其爲形也馬  
身而龍麟故謂之  
龍馬高八尺五寸  
類駱有翼踏水不  
沒聖人在位負圖  
出於孟河之中焉



To those figures<sup>9</sup> Foh-he compared the general features of the universe; the great strokes formed in the heavens, from the lines of the stars; on the earth, from the winding of the streams and the unevenness of mounts; and, from all this, he conceived the rudiments of writing.

Foh-he looked at the heavens, and below he saw the earth. Then he made the Pah-kwa, or the eight principles or sources<sup>10</sup>. The Pah-kwa is to man the source of all inspiration, the recipient of all knowledge.<sup>11</sup> (See fig. 2).

<sup>9</sup> Therefore he came and looked at the heavens, at the earth, and at the ten thousand things which existed between the heavens and the earth, and to all these he compared the Pah-hwa. (Kang-kien-pu, 8th page, 1st book.)

<sup>10</sup> Foh-he looked at the heavens, and below he saw the earth, and he caused men and women to live as husband and wife; afterward he divided everything into five classes; water, fire, wood, metal, (*or gold*), and earth. He made the natural laws for man's guidance; he found the Pah-kwa, or the eight principles or sources. He was the first to unite the people under one rule; and all were content. So they called him Foh-he. (Kang-kien-pu, Book I, page 7.)

|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 伏 | 而 | 卦 | 始 | 因 | 天 | 伏 | 綱 |   |
| 義 | 化 | 以 | 定 | 夫 | 俯 | 義 | 鑑 |   |
| 也 | 之 | 定 | 人 | 婦 | 察 | 仰 | 補 | 卷 |
|   | 故 | 天 | 道 | 正 | 法 | 觀 |   | 一 |
|   | 謂 | 下 | 畫 | 五 | 如 | 象 | 第 |   |
|   | 之 | 伏 | 八 | 行 | 地 | 如 | 七 |   |
|   |   |   |   |   |   |   | 篇 |   |

*Kang-kien-pu* literally signifies, *Kang*, 綱 *great principles* *Kien*, 鑑, *mirror*, and *Pu*, 補, *supplement*. The two last characters *Kien*, 鑑, and *Pu*, 補, taken together, mean history.

<sup>11</sup> In the Pah-kwa, all that is known and all that is unknown may be looked for. It comprises good omens and bad omens; in it lie the records of the past and the secrets of the future.

(FIG. 2.)

THE PAH-KWA,

according to Foh-e (Y-King Ti-chu, Book I, page 3) 1.

—See explanatory note inserted between pages

274 and 275.



*Tai*, earth, land and water, &c.

*Li*, sun, &c.

*Chin*, thunder, animal and vegetable life, etc.

*Kwan*, the earth, inferior or obsequious to heaven ;  
hence applied to the moon, to wife, &c.

*Kien*, heaven, the power or agency of heaven, father,  
mother, emperor, minister &c. 1. Earth ; 2. Man ;  
3. Heaven.

*Sinen*, wind, mildness, &c.

*Kan*, water, &c.

*Kan*, mountain, &c.

The first of these is the *Yin-Yang* symbol, which is a circle divided into two halves, one black and one white, with a small white dot in the black half and a small black dot in the white half. This symbol represents the dualistic nature of the universe, with the black half representing the *Yin* (female, dark, passive) and the white half representing the *Yang* (male, light, active). The two halves are interlocking, suggesting that they are inseparable and interdependent.

The second of these is the *Bagua* (Eight Trigrams) diagram, which is a circle divided into eight sectors, each containing a trigram (a symbol made of three horizontal lines, either solid or broken). The trigrams represent the eight directions of the compass and the eight phases of the moon. The Bagua is a fundamental concept in Chinese cosmology and is used in many different contexts, including feng shui, astrology, and martial arts.

The third of these is the *Five Elements* (Wuxing) diagram, which is a circle divided into five sectors, each containing a trigram and a corresponding element. The five elements are wood, fire, earth, metal, and water, and they are arranged in a circular pattern that represents the cyclical nature of the universe. The Five Elements are a central concept in Chinese philosophy and are used in many different contexts, including medicine, agriculture, and politics.

The fourth of these is the *Four Symbols* (Si Xiang) diagram, which is a circle divided into four sectors, each containing a trigram and a corresponding symbol. The four symbols are the dragon, the tiger, the phoenix, and the unicorn, and they are arranged in a circular pattern that represents the four directions of the compass. The Four Symbols are a central concept in Chinese cosmology and are used in many different contexts, including feng shui, astrology, and martial arts.

The fifth of these is the *Three Cycles* (San Xing) diagram, which is a circle divided into three sectors, each containing a trigram and a corresponding cycle. The three cycles are the day, the month, and the year, and they are arranged in a circular pattern that represents the cyclical nature of the universe. The Three Cycles are a central concept in Chinese cosmology and are used in many different contexts, including feng shui, astrology, and martial arts.



1. The first of these is the *Yin-Yang* symbol, which is a circle divided into two halves, one black and one white, with a small white dot in the black half and a small black dot in the white half. This symbol represents the dualistic nature of the universe, with the black half representing the *Yin* (female, dark, passive) and the white half representing the *Yang* (male, light, active). The two halves are interlocking, suggesting that they are inseparable and interdependent.







圖書本卦圖





(FIG. 5.)

THE DIAGRAM OF THE RECORD FROM THE LO RIVER,

*with the nine classifications as given in the book of Show,  
section VI of the Shoo-King.*



## THE PAH-KWA.

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### EXPLANATORY NOTE.

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In connection with figures 1 and 2 it is said that Heaven conferred on Yu (B. C. 1121) the divine tortoise (see fig. 3), bearing a book out of the river; on its back were various numbers up to 9. Yu arranged them, and completed the nine species. The Y-king says that the Yellow River produced the delimation of the Hautou (see fig. 2), and the Lo River the treatise or the characters as given in the Pah-kwa (see fig. 5). As section VI of the book of Show is rather short, and yet gives a complete commentary of the diagram from the record of the Lo River, I copy here the excellent translation which the late Mr. W. H. Medhurst, sr., has made of it:

SECTION VI. *The great plan.*—On the 13th year (B. C. 1121) the king went to inquire of Kê-tszè; when the king seriously addressed him, saying, O, you Kê-tszè! Heaven has secretly settled the lower people aiding and according with that in which they rest; but I do not know the arrangement of those invariable principles.

Kê-tszè as seriously replied, saying, I have heard that, in old time, Kwan tried to stop the overwhelming waters, and improperly interfered with the five elements; the Supreme Ruler was moved with indignation, and withheld from him the great plan with the nine classifications; thus the invariable principles were destroyed, and Kwan was driven to death. Yü then rose as his successor, and Heaven gave to Yü the great plan and the nine classifications, so that the invariable principles were arranged.

The first of these was, the five elements; the second in order was, a respectful use of the five senses; the third was, an economical attention to the eight regulations; the fourth was, a harmonious use of the five arrangers; the fifth was,

an established performance of the princely perfections ; the sixth was, a well-regulated carrying out of the three virtues ; the seventh was, an intelligent attention to the examination of doubts ; the eighth was, a considerate use of the general verifications ; the ninth was, an earnest tending toward the five blessings, and an awe-struck avoiding of the six extreme visitations.

*In the first place*, there were the five elements ; the first (of which) was called water, the second was fire, the third was wood, the fourth was metal, and the fifth was earth. Water is described as dripping down, and fire as blazing up ; wood is sometimes <sup>crooked</sup> and sometimes ~~crooked~~ straight ; metal is now yielding and then hard ; while (the properties of) earth are displayed in sowing and reaping. That which drips down becomes brackish (as the sea), that which blazes up becomes bitter (as soot), that which is occasionally crooked and straight becomes sour (as certain vegetables), that which is at times yielding and hard becomes acid, (as the taste of some metals), and that which is sown and reaped becomes sweet (as corn). (For the symbol, see No. 1, fig. 5).

*In the second place*, there were the five senses, the first of which was called shape, the second termed speech, the third denominated sight, the fourth was called hearing, and the fifth was entitled thinking<sup>1</sup>. Shape may be referred to respect, speech may be classed under compliance, sight may be ranged with clearness, hearing may be arranged under perception, and thought allied to intelligence. Respect produces veneration, compliance is the foundation of government, clearness leads to knowledge, perception to device, and intelligence to perfect wisdom. (For the symbol, see No. 2, fig. 5).

*In the third place*, there were the eight regulators ; the first of which was called the provider of food, the second was

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<sup>1</sup> When men are first born their external form is completed ; after coming into the world their voice is heard ; after awhile they can see ; subsequent to this they hear ; and in the course of time they begin to think.



termed the gatherer of property<sup>2</sup>, the third was denominated the presenter of offerings, the fourth was entitled the superintendent of public works, the fifth was called the minister of instruction, the sixth was considered as the criminal judge, the seventh was made (the receiver) of guests, and the eighth was promoted to be general of the army. (For the symbol, see No. 3, fig. 5).

*In the fourth place*, there were the five arrangers; the first of which was called the circuit of the seasons, the second was called the moon, the third was denominated the sun, the fourth was termed the stars, and the fifth was referred to the astronomical calculations. (For the symbol, see No. 4, fig. 5.)

*In the fifth place*, there were the princely perfections. Let the prince establish the point of perfection, and, accumulating the five kinds of blessings, let him diffusively confer them on the common people; then the common people, on account of his perfections, will afford him perfect protection<sup>3</sup>. (For the symbol, see No. 5, fig. 5.)

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<sup>2</sup> Food is that which people have most urgent need of, property is that on which men mainly depend; hence they are put in the first and second place.

<sup>3</sup> This means that the prince ought to carry out to the utmost the duties of the human relations. Thus in regard to the relation subsisting between parents and children he should be extremely affectionate, and then all the parents and children would take him for a pattern. Thus also with regard to the conjugal and fraternal relations: let the prince first set a perfect pattern, and the whole empire will imitate him. In this way the suitability of rational principles being invariably carried out in every word and action, without a hair's breadth of excess or defect, the point of perfection will be established. Now, perfection is the foundation of happiness, and happiness is the certain result of perfection; wherever perfection is established happiness will certainly accumulate. But the prince does not accumulate happiness merely to benefit his own person; he aims likewise to disseminate that happiness abroad among the people, so that every one may be affected and transformed by his example; this is what is called diffusing blessings abroad among the people. The people seeing this will defend their prince to the utmost, and not dare to desert him.

Whenever the common people avoid cabals, and the officers keep from forming factions, it is solely because the prince has attained perfection.

When there are any among the common people who display contrivance, activity, and determination, let your majesty bear them in mind. When any are not yet joined to perfect goodness, and still not inveigled in crime <sup>4</sup>, let the prince then take them in hand; while on those who wear a placid countenance, and profess to be enamored with virtue, do you then confer emolument. Thus these people will attain to the perfection of the prince.

Do not oppress the poor and solitary, nor dread the high and honorable <sup>5</sup>.

When officers display capacity and activity, promote their views, and the country will be prosperous. All the magistrates being well paid, insist on their doing good; if you cannot render them comfortable in their own families, these men will soon be involved in crimes <sup>6</sup>; and when they are averse to virtue, although you confer on them emolument, you will only render yourself an accomplice in their villainies.

In order to prevent partiality and injustice, let (the people) follow the royal rectitude; in order to avoid excessive attachments, let them obey the royal doctrines; in order to exclude extreme antipathies, let them pursue the royal way. When they are without partialities and cabals, the royal doctrines will be enlarged and extended; when party spirit and prejudices cease, the royal way will be easy and unobstructed; when there are no rebellions nor corruptions, the royal course will be straight and even. (Thus the people) will be

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<sup>4</sup> These are men of mediocrity; if encouraged, they will practice virtue, but if neglected, they will sink into vice; hence the prince should take them in hand.

<sup>5</sup> This means that, should the meanest of the people practice virtue, they ought to be encouraged; and if the great and noble do wrong, they must be reprov'd.

<sup>6</sup> When salaries are not regularly paid, and the necessities of life not afforded, then men cannot be comfortable at home, and will soon take improper means to supply their wants.



brought together to perfection, and will revert to extreme goodness.

He proceeded to observe that the wide-spread inculcation of the princely perfections is none other than the invariable principle, and the right kind of instruction ; it is also the instruction sanctioned by the Supreme.

Whenever the common people carry out these wide-spread instructions, they teach them and practice them, in order to approximate to the splendor of the Son of Heaven ; while they say the Emperor is the people's parent, and thus he becomes the ruler of all sublunary things.

*In the sixth place*, there are the three virtues ; the first of which is called even-handed justice, the second is denominated strict rule, and the third is termed a mild course of government. In peaceful and tranquil times be strictly just. When the people are obstinate and unyielding, rule them by severity ; when they are harmonious and compliant, govern them with mildness ; when they are deeply sunk in barbarity, rule them with rigor ; and when they are elevated in the scale of civilization, let your administration be lenient.

Only the sovereign should confer emoluments, and he only inflict punishments, while to the prince alone belongs the property of the state ; the subject has nothing to do with conferring rewards, inflicting punishments, or administering the wealth of the nation.

When subjects confer emoluments, inflict punishments, or interfere with the disposal of the public property, then injury will accrue to their families, and ruin to their country. When men in office are corrupt, unjust, and selfish, the people will err and transgress. (For the symbol, see No. 7, fig. 5.)

*In the seventh place*, there was the examination of doubts. (When doubts occur) select and appoint proper men to superintend the tortoise and reeds, and let them divine and prognosticate thereby.



(The divinations) are called, moisture, fair weather, obscurity, interrupted succession and mixture.

(The prognostics) are termed chastity and penitence.

They are altogether seven, of which the divinations are five, and the prognostics two; (all of which are useful) in tracing out the errors of business.

Having appointed the proper officers to attend to divinations and prognostics, let three men carry on the auguries, and follow any two of them in their opinions.

Should you have any great doubts, appeal to your own judgment, and consult your nobles, as well as your people, while you attend at the same time to the divinations and prognostics. Should you assent, and the tortoise and reeds be favorable, your nobles and people all coinciding in the same views, this is what is called a grand concord; in such cases your person will be secure and your descendants will be happy. Should your own views be favorable to a project, and the tortoise and reeds assent, while the nobles and people object, it would be nevertheless favorable. Should your nobles, with the tortoise and reeds coincide, while you and the common people are averse to a measure, it may still be felicitous. When your people, the tortoise and reeds all give a favorable answer, but you and your nobles scruple about an undertaking, you may yet consider it advantageous. Should you and the tortoise assent, while the reeds, the nobles, and the people demur, then internal operations might be felicitous, but external undertakings prejudicial<sup>7</sup>. But when the tortoise and reeds both oppose the views of men, to remain still would be advisable, and all active operations should be avoided. (For the symbol, see No. 7, fig. 5.)

*In the eighth place*, there are the general verifications, namely, rain, fair weather, heat, cold and wind; all which should accord with the proper seasons. When these five come fully prepared, each in its proper order, all kinds of vegetables will be exuberant.

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<sup>7</sup> Internal operations refer to sacrificing, and external ones to war.

When either of these are in excess, it is bad ; when they are deficient, it is also bad.

There are the favorable verifications ; for instance, respect is followed by reasonable showers ; good government, by opportune fair weather ; intelligence, by a due degree of heat ; counsel, by a proper modicum of cold ; and perfection, by periodical winds. The unfavorable verifications are these : dissoluteness, which is followed by incessant showers ; error, by uninterrupted clear weather, indolence, by excessive heat ; haste by extreme cold ; and stupidity, by perpetual tempests.

We should say, let the ruler examine himself with regard to the year, the nobles with respect to the month<sup>8</sup>, and the inferior magistrates with reference to the day.

When the years, months, and days do not fail in their seasons, the various kinds of grain will ripen, government will be intelligent, clever people will be promoted, and families will be peaceful and settled.

When the days, months, and years fail in their seasons, the various kinds of grain will not come to perfection, government will be dark and devoid of intelligence, clever people will remain in obscurity, and families will not be tranquil.

The common people are like the stars<sup>9</sup> ; certain stars bring wind, while others produce rain<sup>10</sup> ; the course of the sun and moon points out the winter and summer solstice<sup>11</sup>, and the

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<sup>8</sup> A king's success or failure in virtue would affect the year, a noble's, the month, and an inferior officer's, the day, each one according to his rank and station.

<sup>9</sup> That is, the common people depend on their superiors, just as the stars are attached to the body of the heavens.

<sup>10</sup> The constellation Kê (the hand of Sagittarius) brings wind, and the constellation Peih (Ilyades) brings rain.

<sup>11</sup> The sun has a middle path, but the moon follows a nine-fold course. The middle path of the sun is the ecliptic. On the north the moon, in its course, travels to the eastern part of Tsing (the head of Gemini), where it reaches its limit toward the (north) pole ; on the south it goes to Nêw (the head of Capricornus), where it is farthest removed from the north pole ; on the east it travels to the constellation Kêo (Spica Virginis) ; and on the west to Leu (the head of Aries), both



moon traveling among the fixed stars indicates the approach of wind and rain.

*In the ninth place*, there are the five kinds of happiness, one of which is called longevity, the second riches, the third tranquillity, the fourth the love of virtue, the fifth a discovery of the proper termination of life. (For the symbol, see No. 9, fig. 5).

The sixth extremities are, first, an untimely and early death, secondly sickness, thirdly sorrow, fourthly poverty, fifthly hardihood in sin, and sixthly indulgence in iniquity.

equidistant from the poles. The nine courses of the moon are the black path, on the north of the ecliptic, where it comes out twice; the red path (the equinoctial), on the south of the ecliptic, where it comes out twice; the white path to the west of the ecliptic, where it comes out twice; the azure path, to the east of the ecliptic, where it comes out twice; which, together with the ecliptic itself, make nine courses. When the sun is at the extreme south, at the tropic of Capricorn, it forms the winter solstice, when at the extreme north, at the tropic of Cancer, it forms the summer solstice. Traveling between the south and north, easterly to Virgo, and westerly to Aries, it forms the vernal and autumnal equinoxes. The moon from the commencement of spring (see No. 9, fig. 6) (February 5), to the vernal equinox (see No. 10, fig. 6), follows the azure path; from the commencement of autumn, (see No. 13, fig. 6), (August 9), to the autumnal equinox, (see No. 14, fig. 6,) it follows the white path; from the commencement of winter (see No. 15, fig. 6), (November 8), to the winter solstice, (see No. 16, fig. 6), it follows the black path; and from the commencement of summer (May 7) to the summer solstice, (see No. 11, fig. 6), it follows the azure path equinoctial. Hence it is said that the courses of the sun and moon produce winter and summer. When the moon goes to the northeast, enters the constellation Kê (Sagittarius), there is much wind; when it travels to the southwest, and enters the constellation Peih (Hyades), then there is much rain; hence it is said that the moon in its journey among the stars produces wind and rain.

*N.B.*—From the above representation of the sun's place at the four quarters of the year it would appear that the calculation must have been made when the equinoxes were 30 degrees distant from the point where they now are, or about 2,000 years ago. The ninefold course of the moon appears to refer to the inclination of the lunar orbit, and to the ascending and descending nodes where they cut the ecliptic. A plan of the ninefold path of the moon, as drawn by the Chinese, will be found attached. (See fig. 6).

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1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

2. The second part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

3. The third part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

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10. The tenth part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.



This gigantic conception of writing formed in the image of the creation, this miracle of an art which is akin to magic, is what has infatuated the Chinese the most, and to a point that they have neglected everything else, as very properly remarked to me by Admiral Litchenn Miou, of Amoy. In one word, God, who is revealed to the Indians by the light, to the Greeks by the lyre, is disclosed to the Chinese by the prodigy of writing.

Traced under the eyes of the Master, those wonderful characters are the types of an infinity of relations, of true principles, discovered through investigation and meditation. For this revelation must incessantly remain present to the thoughts of the wise and be their text. Each character is a symbol, a proverb that shows forth its deepest signification to those that study it with religious care; and these types, taken together, form the representation of all the facts, in the physical and spiritual order, the knowledge of which is required for one's guidance in life. « They are the science of that which is manifest, and of that which is not manifest; the source of all doctrine, of all writing, the origin of all knowledge. » Confucius was fifty when he first understood the Pah-

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It is the source of all knowledge. (Y-king, commentary by Confucius, Book V, page 14).

繫辭 卷五  
十四篇  
八卦定吉凶  
凶生大業



kwa; then only, also, so he tells us, he commenced to be wise <sup>12</sup>.

A certain character which is formed of the sign of heaven and of that of water (the sea in motion), is the image of a courageous man who, unmoved by the blows of fate, rests on the ruins of his home and affections. The conjunction of the two lines that figure the unison of the earth and water, conveys the idea of sound politics based on that true friendship which should exist between two great empires; but the space left between the line of the heavens and that of water or earth ☵ is a hint to the legislator for a well-understood distinction of classes, such as should be maintained in a well-organized community <sup>13</sup>. The sign of fire, placed at the highest point in the heavens, expresses a law of nature, and, at the same time, it is offered as a model to princes and men high in the scale of society, who should fill the whole universe

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<sup>12</sup> (Sz-shù, 1st part, 4th book, 5th page.) « My (Confucius's) wish has been that I would live a few years after the age of fifty to study and understand Y-king, and thus find myself fairly established on the road to wisdom.» By this Confucius (this is a remark made by the commentator) meant that Y-king is a very deep book, almost universal in its relations, that it must be studied with care, and that no one could expect to be able to master it after a rapid perusal.

<sup>13</sup> ☵ Heaven.

☵ Water, or heaven above water or the earth. It is the character *Lee*, and signifies foot standing on earth. It is the symbol of the division of men into high and low classes. When one is walking he finds that the heavens are above (his head), and the waters (or the earth) beneath; and this is a natural order of things, which cannot be changed. Hence the division of men (living in a state of society) in classes. (Chas-i-ting-koo, 2d book, 4th page.)

with the splendor of their virtue<sup>14</sup>. In one character, the delicate disposition of the stroke is the image of mo-

周易訂詁二卷第二十四篇  
履  
而制其踐履上者如天之不可為  
可為澤下者如澤之不可為  
天上各得其分則民有定  
志

<sup>14</sup> ䷀ 乾下 Fire above.

䷀ 離上 Heaven below, a fire high in the heavens (is a hint for a great minister) who has many duties to perform. Is there a disturbance, a revolt, it is his task to quell them. Whatever is too bitter, or too hot, or even too sweet, he must make right. He has to clear up what is obscure or intricate; to give weight to that which is too light. A minister of state is like a big cart, it must be properly loaded before it can be put on the way. All his acts must be to the benefit of the king. (Chau-i-ting-koo, 2d book, page 55).

周易訂詁二卷第五十五篇  
九二大車以載有攸往无咎  
大臣之位百責所萃震撼擊  
撞欲其鎮定辛甘燥濕欲其  
調劑盤錯楚結欲其解紓黯  
闇汗濁欲其肅納故為大臣  
者必如大車以載而後可有  
攸往者  
公用亨於天子是也

desty<sup>15</sup>. Indeed the discovery of all useful arts is owing to a protracted contemplation of the sacred characters and constant efforts to imitate them. The secrets of weaving cloth, of stitching nets, have their origin in the character *Lee*, 離<sup>16</sup>.

Not only the science of the present, but that of the future is concealed within the forms of the sacred characters. The prophet of the Wha-seu River is a necromancer who reads the future destiny of the world in the lines of its mysterious features, in the fibers of the

<sup>15</sup> I give a few quotations of Y-king, in which other symbols are given for imitation by all men, as, in Catholic books, the cross is offered to believers as a source of inspiration. « The mountains are in the earth ; it is the Kun, 坤. ( In imitation of it) learned, wise, and good men search into all things, that they may gradually improve. They are as correct as a scale, ( and yet) they place themselves on a level with the shepherd ; » that is to say, mountains proceed from the earth where they have been lying hidden. In imitation of them great men keep in the shade, and their ways are humble ; but, when opportunity offers, they rise to the highest point of perfection. (Chau-i-ting-koo, Book 9, page 6.)


|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 牧 | 謙 | 平 | 以 | 地 | 謙 |   | 六 | 周 |
| 也 | 謙 | 施 | 哀 | 中 |   | ䷁ | 篇 | 易 |
|   | 君 |   | 多 | 有 |   | ䷁ |   | 訂 |
|   | 子 |   | 益 | 山 |   |   |   | 詰 |
|   | 夷 |   | 寡 | 謙 |   |   |   | 九 |
|   | 以 |   | 稱 | 君 |   |   |   | 卷 |
|   | 自 |   | 物 | 子 |   |   |   |   |

<sup>16</sup> The secret of making knots with cords (nets) to fish with, and traps to catch birds, was revealed to man by the character *Lee* 離, (Chau-i-ting-koo, Book 3, page 104.) The character *Lee* is composed of the double sign of fire placed one after the other, thus, 離 下 fire below, 離 上 fire above. (Chau-ting-koo, Book 3, page 104.)





sacred plants, in the footsteps of the birds of heaven printed on the slime of the sea-shore. Everything under the heavens and above earth, the seas, the lakes, the clouds, the mountains are, for him, as the book of fate, which has been skillfully written and opened for his information by an almighty artist.






The result of this strange conception of truth is easily perceived. Since the shape of a character has been

|               |            |               |               |     |               |      |    |   |    |             |
|---------------|------------|---------------|---------------|-----|---------------|------|----|---|----|-------------|
| 周易訂詁卷十二五篇內云全上 | 下嚮明而治蓋取諸此也 | 見南方之卦也聖人南面而聽天 | 說卦傳曰離也者明也萬物皆相 | 取諸離 | 曰作結繩而爲綱罟以佃以漁蓋 | 繫辭下傳 | 離  |  | 離上 | 周易訂詁三卷一百零四篇 |
|               |            |               |               |     |               |      | 離下 |   |    |             |

The art of counting also comes from these mysterious symbols. We are aware that the numbers used in the binary system of numeration require but two figures, 0 and 1, to represent all the numbers; in this system a figure placed to the left of another represents a unity two times stronger. In this way numbers which we designate ordinarily by 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, &c., would be designated by 1, 10, 11, 100, 101, 110, 111, 1000, 1001, 1010, &c. The illustrious Leibnitz, while engaged in comparing the system of numeration of the Chinese, as given by the 64 hexagrams of Foh-he, or the 8 trigrams of the Pah-kwa combined in pairs, to other systems of European origin, found that these symbols are nothing but the 64 first numbers of the system which has 2

settled by *Heaven* himself, each line, each stroke has in itself an authority which cannot be disputed. And a character, a radical, to the dictionary, there is a revolution in the faith and in the empire. Writing is sacred. Whoever shall be so impious as to throw on the floor a sheet written on, shall be punished soon or late by *Heaven*, with the loss of his eyesight. Although a waste, it should have been religiously burned. The souls of the dead survive in their writings, and wise men, in the evening, consign to paper the *résumé* of their good

for basis, but inverted. For if we represent the unity by  and the naught by  and if we agree to write the units of the various orders, not from right to left, but from below up, as the naughts, placed to the left of a number, do not change its value, we find that the Chinese symbols superposed in 64 horizontal lines, as hereunder given, can be interpreted in the following way :

| Chinese symbols.  | Translation in binary system. | Value in the decimal system. | Chinese symbols.  | Translation in binary system. | Value in the decimal system. |
|---|-------------------------------|------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
|  | ...000,000.....               | 0                            |  | ...000,011.....               | 3                            |
|  | ...000,001.....               | 1                            |  | ...000,100.....               | 4                            |
|  | ...000,010.....               | 2                            |   |                               |                              |

(See Table of the sixty-four symbols, as found in Y-king).

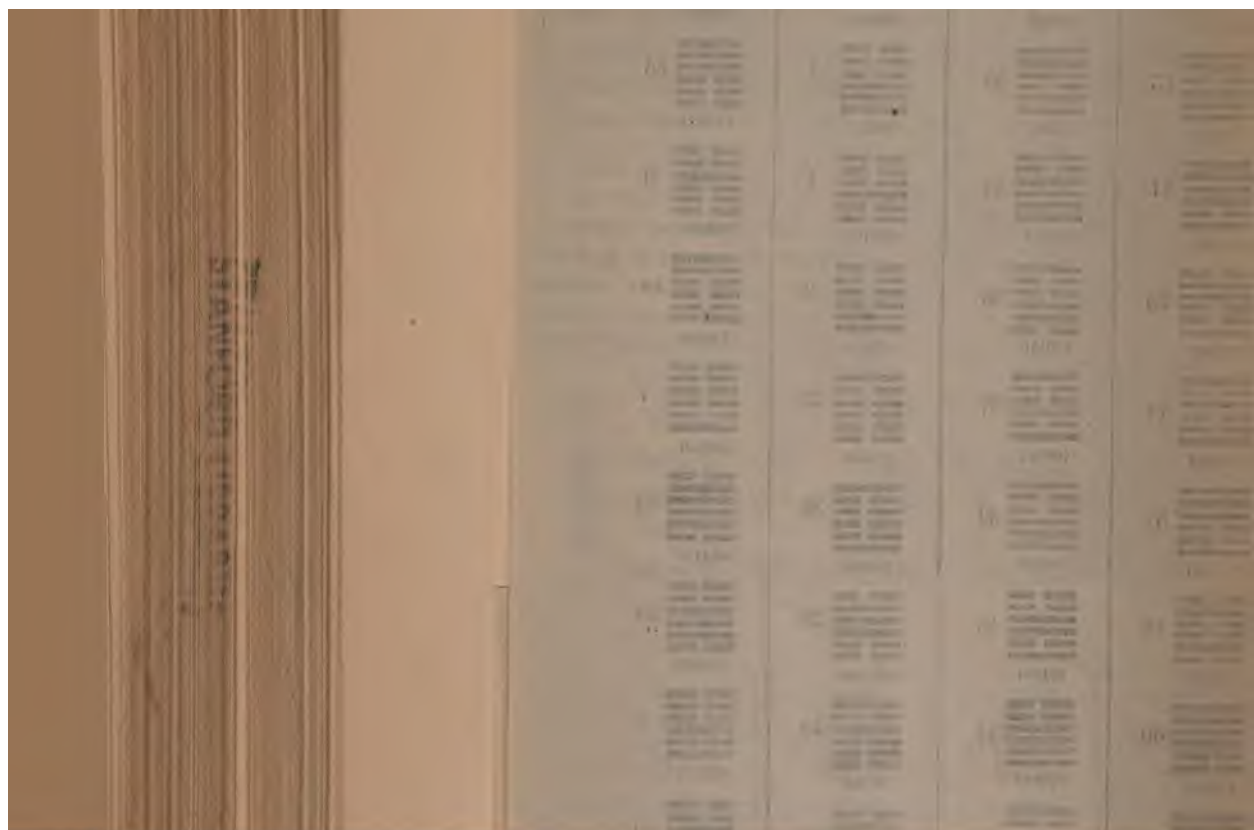
Leibnitz, meditating further over these symbols, the commentary of which by Confucius unfortunately he had not been able to read, saw in their radicals exactly what we have seen they are understood to be by the Chinese, the image of the universe taken from naught by the will of God ; and he argued that, as all the numbers in the binary system are derived from naught and one, so is the world, which came from Nothing and of God. He became so infatuated with this idea, that he advised Father Bouvet, missionary in China, to develop it before the Son of Heaven to convert him to Christianity. (See « Arithmétique par Léon Lalanne, ancien élève de l'école polytechnique, ingénieur des ponts et chaussées &c. » page 7, Paris 1840.)

# TABLE OF THE SIXTY-FOUR SYMBOLS, AS FOUND IN Y-KING.

*Under these symbols is their translation in the binary system, as we would write it, and to the right of these is their value in known figures.*

|  |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|--|
|  63<br>111111 |  0<br>000000  |  17<br>010001 |  34<br>100010 |
|  23<br>010111 |  58<br>111010 |  2<br>000010  |  16<br>010000 |
|  55<br>110111 |  59<br>111011 |  7<br>000111  |  56<br>111000 |
|  61<br>111101 |  47<br>101111 |  4<br>000100  |  8<br>001000  |
|  25<br>011001 |  38<br>100110 |  3<br>000011  |  48<br>110000 |
|  41<br>101001 |  37<br>100101 |  32<br>100000 |  1<br>000001  |
|  57<br>111001 |  39<br>100111 |  33<br>100001 |  30<br>011110 |





actions, and they commit the same to the flames, so that *Heaven* may be more surely informed. While dying, the martyrs write with their blood, the ghosts, the spirits above write, without intermittence, the chronicles of the planets. On his throne, the Emperor writes commentaries on the sacred books. Among the people the first rank has been assigned to those who the best understand the mysterious symbols; and here is, at once, a whole nation of learned people who, according to their respective examinations, are distributed in sections of illiterates, bachelors, licentiates, doctors, &c., in the same manner that other people are divided in proletaries, plebeians, patricians, &c. Hence, also, one of the rewards promised by *Heaven* to virtuous men, that their descendants shall obtain the grade of doctor to the third generation.

Those who have *graduated* form the class well known in China under the name of *literati*. Living among themselves, without any apparent sign of power, they govern the empire with a rod of iron. *The point of their pen is sharper than the edge of a sword*, is a common saying among the lower classes of Chinese. The *keün ke-chü*, or supreme council of the empire, sitting at Peking, is recruited from among them. Constantly engaged in the study of the sacred books, this council is intended to advise the Emperor, not only on all the great state questions, but also on matters of minor interest; and its decisions are binding under the penalty of death. « The various ceremonies to be observed in marriage, funerals and mourning, hospitalities, religious worship, the conduct of hostilities, the shape of houses, the measure of capacity, of length, weight, are fixed by it \* \* \* to innovate in them is capital offense <sup>17</sup>. »

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<sup>17</sup> See the canon of Shun, part. 8, and the doctrine of the mean, Ch. XXVIII.

Confucius, the commentator par excellence, is the chief and the model of the *Literati*. He is their spiritual ancestor, and they have dedicated many temples to him. His descendants compose the only nobility that is hereditary in the empire. Around him are grouped an infinity of minor celebrities whose deeds reflect in proportion on *their* posterity. Confucius has his altars, they have theirs. So, at a certain day, the whole nation assembles in honor of the *ancestors*. All, high and low, prostrate themselves before their images or before their names, written on paper or on tablets; *with the same ceremonial they observe, the same respect they show when meeting, under certain circumstances, any of those placed above them*; their father or their mother, the public officers of the Emperor or the Emperor himself. For those in power have been placed in their station by the will of *Heaven*. « *Heaven* protects the people in giving them teachers and princes. \* \* \* Whatever the Emperor does, he does it for and by the will of *Heaven*. But the Emperor could not do everything by himself; therefore he partakes his power with others, and anything that is done by those in power is done by the command of *Heaven* <sup>18</sup>. »

During these holy days they burn candles and perfumed sticks; a pig is killed and composes the main dish of this great communion. Are these practices idolatrous? Are they purely civil? Have they been instituted to keep, among the people, the memory of those who once were great and have been an honor to the state? Are these names written on paper considered simply as a symbol of what is good and great? Do the Chinese honor it by exterior acts as our soldiers when they salute their flag by dropping their sword before it? Are ancestors acknow-

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<sup>18</sup> Chow-king.



ledged as gods ? Or are they invoked by the Chinese as the saints are by the Italians, the French, the Irish, the South Americans ? Although I firmly believe that the latter supposition is the correct one, I shall not undertake to settle the point by argument. I will only say that, idolatrous or not, the custom is so dear to the Chinese that they seldom give it up, even after they have embraced Christianity<sup>19</sup>. It is in the present what it has been in the past, what it will be in the future, the stumbling-block, the most serious obstacle to the propagation of our faith among them.

« Why », said the literati of Fohkien in their proclamations against foreigners, posted near Amoy, in 1868 ; « why do you not rise to resist the dogs whom you should know have no regards for their ancestors and their rulers, and, therefore, differ not from the most degraded brutes ? Oh you, the natives of China, listen to the teaching of the wise, discover the right from the wrong, and abstain from what is abject. A great man has said '*Battle against innovations.*' » \* \* \*

Then the author, having advised the people not to lease or sell their houses to be used as chapels by American missionaries, winds up by notifying them that, should they let their houses for that purpose, « the literati will not fail to inform »—note well—« *to inform* the civil officers that it is their duty to administer to the most severe punishment, without mercy, on the offender<sup>20</sup>. »

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<sup>19</sup> I had a cook who was regularly attending church at the American chapel at Amoy. Yet he would worship his ancestor's tablets, as another servant of mine enabled me to ascertain.

<sup>20</sup> The house was rented to our missionaries soon after the issuing of that proclamation, and I had the author of the proclamation arrested after the visit which Admiral Rowan made me in 1869, and he was condemned to receive two

In another proclamation I read : « The object of this is to remove a great danger. The temple of my ancestor Hong-Tou has long been standing, \* \* and Hong-Tou's merits and renown for good morals and wisdom have spread over the seas, and they have reached Tsung-chang (a celebrated place of worship in the neighborhood of Amoy), as even the children of this place well know. How, then, can the vagabond Lim-Pye dare to bring any Christian barbarian among us to erect a chapel, \* \* and thereby do damage to my ancestor's temple ! All who descend from Hong-Tou must oppose this, and the indignation of the people, raised in their support, shall have no bounds. As for me, I will reward with twenty taels, in Spanish dollars, any one of my clan who will succeed in taking Lim-Pye, and beat the life out of him. Report this ! Seventh year, tenth month. »

Having risen to such a high status among their own people, it was natural that the literati should prove jealous of any influence threatening to overthrow an order of things the fall of which must be the signal of their ruin. They have but very little to apprehend from within. The Chinese are so attached to their traditions, to their customs, that they fairly believe their own existence as a people, and their rites are inseparable. This explains why they resisted the many revolutions which have taken place in their empire. In this they give us a spectacle unique under the sun : twenty-two reigning families, twenty-two dynasties, twenty-two revolutions, the last a most violent one, which has been marked with floods of

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hundred blows of the bamboo before Dr. Talmage and forty Chinese converts. The officer who passed the sentence actually asked me to write to him, in the most strong terms, that he might find in the terms of my dispatch a justification with his superior for what he had done.



blood, have succeeded each other with the most singular rapidity, without apparent variations in the condition of the people, in their way of living, or in their customs. Abroad it is different, and the experience of India, now lying at their side, almost dead as a nation, transformed under the powerful rule of England, has taught them a terrible lesson.

The literati fear the foreign merchant but little, for his object, wealth, is clear; and after he gets it he generally leaves the country, and it is not likely that he will give further trouble. But in the missionaries, who pretend to be the exclusive possessors of truth, who openly show the greatest contempts for the morals of Confucius, and anything that is not foreign, they see the pioneers of a civilization from which they must have everything to fear. For if it were substituted for that of which they are the support, the power vested in their hands must pass to others. Therefore they do all they can to oppose them. Incapable of openly using force, in the face of the treaties, they have recourse to craft, and, in their occult ways, there is nothing to which they do not resort.

The first point in view was to keep the missionaries from getting into the confidence of the ignorant classes. To this effect they have made them an objet of terror to all. They represent them as being addicted to the most diabolical practices. They say that they kidnap and stupefy victims, that they murder children to obtain their blood, their eyes, out of which to manufacture diamond, the matrix of gold, the source of our merchant's wealth<sup>21</sup>.

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<sup>21</sup> For a remarkably truthful representation of the animus of the ruling (literary) classes of China toward foreigners, I would refer to a book, the translation of which was published in Shanghai last year: « DEATH BLOW TO CORRUPT DOCTRINES, AND



During the troubles at Tang-chow these insinuations, strange to say, found an official expression. A certain Prefect Shun having asked for instructions from the chief magistrate of the district, the latter sent the following reply : « The missionaries must not return for several months. I will refer their case to the Tsung-Lee-Yamùn (board of foreign affairs in Peking), and when the Yamùn, after consultation with the foreign ministers, informs me that it has come to the conclusion that the missionaries really do not abstract brains and eyes, I will myself issue a proclamation to that effect to the gentry and to the people at Tang-chow, after which the missionaries may return <sup>22</sup>. »

Confucius has skillfully adapted the most reckless impulse of the human heart to the geometrical formulas of Foh-E's revelation ; a circumstance which, I fear, has too long escaped the attention of the missionaries. I am far from advocating tactics which have found, in the

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PLAIN STATEMENT OF FACTS, PUBLISHED BY THE GENTRY AND THE PEOPLE. » Montaigne, the great French philosopher of the sixteenth century, has written : « *Les hommes sont partout et toujours les mêmes.* » The correctness of this assertion may be proved by a reference to what took place in Paris, in 1572, a few weeks before the murder of Saint Bartholomew. The priests, anxious to incite the populace against the Protestants, resorted to the same machinations. Unable to find any true ground of complaint against them, they accused them of the most atrocious practices. Michelet says : « Le bruit courait qu'ils volaient les enfants pour les tuer et en fournir le sang à la Reine mère et au Duc d'Anjou, à qui les médecins ordonnaient, pour l'épuisement, des bains de sang humain. » *Histoire de France au 16<sup>me</sup> Siècle. Guerres de religion*, page 394.

<sup>22</sup> His excellency Tsang to Sun, prefect of Tang-chow. An extract quoted in Prefect Sun's letter to Consul Medhurst, September 6, 1868 — China, No. 2, 1869. Correspondence presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty.

estimation of those who were most interested to defend ~~to~~ them, an eloquent disavowal, the tactics of deceit and wrong inaugurated by the Jesuits in the last century, and carried on yet by their successors of the present day. « *Pudet christum passum et crucifixum predicare,* » has been said of them by Pope Innocent X. But I firmly believe that, had the preachers of the gospel shown more tact in discussing the subject of religious reform with the Chinese they would have been more successful. It is plain that, in the estimation of the Chinese, anything that is not in the *Kings* is heretic and subversive of public morals and welfare. In China every branch in the social organization has its language. The merchants have their own ; the diplomates write in a style and use terms which are most unintelligible to the merchant or the soldiers ; and the philosopher, in turn, does not express his ideas like any of them ; and this is so true that one may meet a Chinaman and tell him that he intends studying Chinese, and the first question which the professor asks is which branch of the general language one wishes to learn—that of the men in office, of the philosophers, or of those engaged in trade. Therefore unless the whole Chinese language is changed, to discuss upon any subjects of morals or of religion, the style of the sacred books or of the *Kings* must be used. This important point the missionaries have disregarded, and their translation of the Bible, not being in the style of *Kings*, is generally considered as a very poor specimen of Chinese literature, a circumstance which prevents its being read extensively. Again the literati contend that *truth* is eternal, and whenever it is found, in the *Kings* or in the *Bible* or the *New Testament*, it is God's word and should command respect. Now, it is well known among those familiar with Chinese literature that there are but few of our



Christian maxims which are not to be found in the Kings. Yet the preachers of the gospel have persisted in disregarding the limited relationship which exists between the morals of Christ and those of Confucius, and they have long contended with the literati for the honor of having an exclusive conception of Divinity; and it is but lately that they have come to the conclusion to use, in their translation of the Bible, the character which, in the Kings, and the only one, I believe, in the Chinese language, conveys the idea of God<sup>23</sup>. This childish controversy which they have kept up, on the subject of the characters *Thien-tchu*, God, Lord of Heaven, has lasted over two hundred years. It is certain that it caused great offense to the proud Chinese, who could not help seeing in the persistence of the missionaries but an inclination to disparage them in the eyes of their own people, and, more than anything else, it has contributed in giving rise to their feeling of hatred toward the religion of Christ.

Another cause of drawback for the missions lies in the divisions existing in their midst. Had they made common cause in teaching the text of the gospel, and, as professional men, as physicians, teachers in mathematics and useful arts or trades, modestly, carefully, taking their time, moved toward the interior of the empire, I believe that, by this time, they would have left their mark in the East. And, indeed, what would have hindered their march? Their presence would have been a blessing to the people; and as to the question, <sup>of religion</sup> in itself the literati care very little about it. In fact they are rather favorably inclined toward all religions, which they consider as inoffensive superstitions and as almost indispensable substi-

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<sup>23</sup> Supreme Ruler or Emperor above.



tutes for the doctrine of Confucius, which, in their pride, they believe to be quite beyond the reach of the ignorant multitude. Indeed, with a view to conciliate the good wishes of the lower classes, they affect to publicly acknowledge them by making it a duty for the civil officers of the highest rank, to visit, at intervals, the places of worship which are most in favor, and especially those which belong to persuasions most apt, in their estimation, to aid them in the government of the people.

Francis Xavier, the great precursor of missionary enterprise in the East, well understood this. He almost declined discussing the doctrine of Christ; but he showed what it was capable of inspiring the man who firmly believed in it. With a spirit of heroism free from any admixture of human thoughts, and too worthy of imitation, he commenced his noble task. Alone, without guides, almost ignorant of the languages and of the places he visited, he followed at random the coast of Malabar. In India, so full of wonders, he saw only those who live far away from the towns; he spent his days with the lower people, the exiles, the parias, the little children. At sunset he would take his little bell and walk from hut to hut saying, « Good people, let us pray to the Lord in Heaven. »

In this manner he traced an uninterrupted road for future comers as far as the Cormoran's Cape. He planted the cross over an immense tract of land, and the populations through which he passed, considering him to be God's envoy, revered and believed him. He had not to invite them; they crowded on his steps. They craved to embrace the faith of one so great of goodness and charity. Francis Xavier has been, on earth, a good image of Christ, and his sanctity was everywhere his safeguard.

So long as the propagators of the faith, following in this holy man's steps, circumscribed their actions to the conversion of the souls and the education of the people, they were respected and in favor. Witness Ricci, who, from 1532, spent twenty-eight years at Peking, living in a house that the Emperor Chin-Tsong had given to him. Adam Shall, of Cologne, in the year 1653, who superseded, as president of the college of mathematics, in Peking, the Persian astronomers, Grimaldi, Carreri, all of whom received many favors by the hands of the emperors. But, doubtless, when, jealous one of the other, they commenced to quarrel among themselves, to intrigue one against the other in the palace, or in general, favored the supremacy of the Pope of Rome over the Son of Heaven, a great change took place. The Chinese lost faith in men who had failed to prove that they were true to their highest ideal. Christianity had been announced to them as a religion of peace and it had brought to them discord. It had been represented as being the communion of the humble, and the pride of Rome had shown itself in the most offensive manner to the ruling Emperor. Those who professed to be the charitable *par excellence*, had invited their own country to do the Chinese violence and take revenge of them<sup>24</sup>.

Roused with indignation by so much hypocrisy, at the risk of losing the services which the missionaries had rendered, and which they valued so much<sup>25</sup>, the supreme council of the empire decided that the people should be brought to their senses and protected against the influence of a doctrine which, under the veil of charity and peace, had brought confusion and trouble in the empire. In his

<sup>24</sup> This subject was discussed at full length by me with Lee Taien, governor of Formosa, in December, 1869.

<sup>25</sup> Among other things they made the maps of the empire.



explanation, in ten thousand characters (*Van-Tzeu-Lun*), touching sixteen articles of morals which are publicly taught to the people twice a month, the Emperor having enumerated the most objectionable sects, said: « The religion of Europe which honors *Thien-Tchu*<sup>26</sup> is also one of those whose principles are not to be found in the Kings and are not derived from them<sup>27</sup>. The missionaries are acquainted with the science of mathematics, and, there-

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<sup>26</sup> [The Lord of Heaven], two characters invented by the missionaries, and by which they have long translated the word « God. »

<sup>27</sup> The Y-king « book of changes », and which I have so often quoted above, is regarded with almost universal reverence by the Chinese, both on account of its antiquity, and also the unfathomable wisdom which is supposed to lie concealed under its mysterious symbols. As I have already said, the authorship of the Symbols (*Kwa*), which forms the nucleus of the work, is with great confidence attributed to Foh-he or Paou-he. These consisted originally, as we have seen, of 8 trigrams, but were subsequently, by combining them in pairs, augmented to the 64 hexagrams. The work is said to have escaped destruction at the time of the burning of books, B. C. 220, in consequence of its application to purposes of divination; books of that class having been excepted. Tradition relates, however, that the three last sections by Confucius were lost about that time, and were afterwards found by a girl at the Yellow River. A long list of scholars are recorded as having distinguished themselves as expounders of the Y-king, some by oral instructions and others by their writings. (See notes on Chinese, &c., by A. Wylie, Shanghai and London, 1867, pages 1 and 2).

I have never seen any translation of Y-king into any European language, but Mr. Wylie states that there is one in Latin. Y-king, antiquissimus, Sinarum Liber quem ex latina interpretatione P. Regis aliorumque ex Soc. Jesu P. P. edidit Julius Mohl. 1834, Stutagartiae et Tubingae, 2 vol.



fore, they have been made use of in the empire. Th  
every one must know.»

Such was the decision of this great Emperor, and, s  
as it is, and the declaration to the contrary contained  
the treaties notwithstanding, it is to be feared that h  
successors believe yet in its wisdom, and that, for a lo  
time to come, however powerful the intervention of t  
foreign powers in favor of missionary enterprise may b  
the crown of the martyrs will be the only reward whi  
Christian truth has to offer to its defenders.

TAIWANFOO, ISLAND OF FORMOSA, *January 1878<sup>o</sup>*.





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|---|---|---|---|
| <b>F U</b><br><br><b>AND</b><br><br><b>K E N.</b> | <b>ON.</b>  |   |   |
|   | <b>S CULTURES</b>   |   |   |
|   | <b>ATED</b><br><b>MCTION</b><br><b>r</b><br><b>N</b><br><b>1 of</b><br><b>2).</b> | <b>GOVERNMENT</b><br><br><b>TAXATION</b><br><br><b>per</b><br><br><b>TAN</b><br><br><b>(Yen).</b> | <b>REVENUE TO THE</b><br><b>P.</b><br><b>OWNER OF THE VALUE</b> |



## ERRATA.

*Table inserted opposite to page 293 :*

|           |      |          |     |         |           |             |
|-----------|------|----------|-----|---------|-----------|-------------|
| Iwamayé   | Ken, | column 2 | for | 125,188 | read      | 125,088     |
| Chikuuna  | do.  | do.      | 3   | for     | 273,018   | „ 272,018   |
| Chiba     | do.  | do.      | 12  | for     | 14,746.7  | „ 144,746.7 |
| Tochigi   | do.  | do.      | 12  | for     | 09,424.3  | „ 109,424.3 |
| Hiogo     | do.  | do.      | 23  | for     | 10,707    | „ 19,707    |
| Akita     | do.  | do.      | 23  | for     | 7,300     | „ 7,308     |
| Shimane   | do.  | do.      | 23  | for     | 76,263    | „ 16,263    |
| Nikawa    | do.  | do.      | 26  | for     | 182,498   | „ 182,478   |
| Hiogo     | do.  | do.      | 30  | for     | 44,959    | „ 54,959    |
| Yamagata  | do.  | do.      | 34  | for     | 4.6       | „ 4.5.6     |
| Yehime    | do.  | do.      | 33  | for     | 4,965     | „ 4,964     |
| Hojio     | do.  | do.      | 37  | for     | 16,996    | „ 16,995    |
| Niigata   | do.  | do.      | 38  | for     | 1,394     | „ 1,397     |
| Nara      | do.  | do.      | 40  | for     | 2,351     | „ 2,356     |
| Nikawa    | do.  | do.      | 42  | for     | 14 to 9   | „ 1. 4 to 9 |
| Toyo-Oka  | do.  | do.      | 43  | for     | 15,082    | „ 15,085    |
| Fukushima | do.  | do.      | 44  | for     | 1.3.5     | „ 2.5       |
| Asigata   | do.  | do.      | 46  | for     | 4.8       | „ 4.6       |
| Chiba     | do.  | do.      | 46  | for     | 4.8       | „ 4.6       |
| Kagoshima | do.  | do.      | 52  | for     | 64,850    | „ ...       |
| Sizoo-oka | do.  | do.      | 54  | for     | 6,640     | „ 6,641     |
| Tochigi   | do.  | do.      | 57  | for     | 1,242,261 | „ 1,142,261 |
| Tochigi   | do.  | do.      | 59  | for     | 35,765    | „ 35,768    |
| Wakamatz  | do.  | do.      | 66  | for     | 7,624     | „ 5,624     |
| Iwai      | do.  | do.      | 66  | for     | 14,394    | „ 74,394    |
| Nagano    | do.  | do.      | 70  | for     | 8.11.19   | „ 8.11.17   |
| Aichi     | do.  | do.      | 71  | for     | 119,619   | „ 119,919   |
| Wakayama  | do.  | do.      | 73  | for     | 17,942    | „ 17,042    |
| Niigata   | do.  | do.      | 75  | for     | 210,564   | „ 210,594   |
| O-ita     | do.  | do.      | 78  | for     | 1,688     | „ 1,698     |
| Miye      | do.  | do.      | 80  | for     | 58,188    | „ 58,198    |
| Chikuma   | do.  | do.      | 80  | for     | 35,666    | „ 35,669    |
| Sizoo-oka | do.  | do.      | 82  | for     | 42,694    | „ 42,644    |

Columns 93 and 94, for *Threads, silk woven with various fabrics and ready made articles* read *Threads, ready made articles and silk woven with various materials.*

Nii-Haru Ken, column 98 for 136,041 read 134,041  
 Nii-Haru do. do. 99 for 1,718,580 „ 1,718,588



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## ADDENDA TO THE MAP

### OF THE EMPIRE OF JAPAN.

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In these addenda are given the names of places that for want of space, were left out on the map. The references to the addenda on the map, are by the same distinctive signs that serve to determine on the map, the position and comparative populousness of towns, and which guide to corresponding signs in the addenda opposite to which are given the names looked for. Whenever in the same province there are two or more places of the same population, their respective location being necessarily different, a discrimination between them is made easy by means of short descriptive remarks prefixed to their distinctive signs in the addenda.

#### TOSANDO.

PROVINCE OF MUTSU, N.E. of *Hirosaki* opposite to \* add KUROISHI.—S. E. of and nearly touching *Akita* opposite to \* add SEIGAMI.—PROVINCE OF RIKUCHIEU, W. of *Kamaichi* opposite to \* add TONO.—PROVINCE OF RIKUZEN, N. E. of the bay of *Matsushima*, on the coast, opposite to \* add GEISENNURA.—PROVINCE OF IWASHIRO, near to the Abukama river and on the road, between Fukushima and Mikaru, opposite to \* add NIHONMATZ.—PROVINCE OF KOTZUKÉ, N. N. E. of *Takasaki* opposite to \* add MAIBASHI. —N. W. of S. E. corner of this province and E. of *Takazaki* opposite to \* add TATCH-BAYASHI.—N. B. TOCHIGI is N. E. of and near *Tatch-bayashi*; its location is marked by a dot, thus: •—S. E. corner of this province, on the *Motodone river*, opposite to \* add KONGA.—PROVINCE OF SHINANO, to the N. N. E. of *Chikuma*, on the *Shinano river* opposite to \* add NAGANO.—To the N. of *Nagano* opposite to \* which is half covered by the *a* of *Nikawa* add ZENKOZI.—To the S. of *Chikuma*, at the

head of the river *Tenriu*, between the words *Shinano* and *Chikuma*, opposite to \* add KUWABARA. Near the S. E. corner of this province, on a branch of the *Tenriu river*, opposite to \* add IDA.—PROVINCE OF MINO, to the N. of and touching *Gifu*, opposite to \* add KANO.—To the S. W. of *Gifu* very near to the road, opposite to \* add ONGAKI.—PROVINCE OF AUMI, to the N. of *Hikoné*, on lake *Biwa*, opposite to \* add NAGAHAMA.

### HOKUROKUDO.

PROVINCE OF YETCHIZEN, to the left of *H* of *Hokurokudo*, near the S.W. corner of the province, opposite to \* add *Take-hu*.—S. E. corner of the province, opposite to \* add ONO. To the right of *n* in *Yetchizen*, to the N. W. of *Ono* opposite to \* add *Katsuyama*.—N. E. corner of this province, to the S. W. of *Daishoji* in *Kaga*, opposite to \* add SAKAHI.—PROVINCE OF KAGA, to the N. W. of *Kanasawa*, on the coast and opposite to \* add KUNAISHI.—To the S. W. of *Kanasawa*, on the coast, opposite to \* add *Mikawa*.—To the S.W. of *Dai-shoji*, on the coast, opposite to \* add SAKA-I.—PROVINCE OF YETCHIU, to the N. E. of *Toyama*, very near the coast and opposite to \* add *Saisuibashi*.—To the N. E. of *Toyama*, above *Saisuibashi*, opposite to \* add NAMERAGAWA.—To the N. E. of *Toyama*, above *Nameragawa*, opposite to \* add IODZU.—To the S. of *Toyama*, opposite to \* add YAO.—To the N. W. of *Toyama*, on the coast, opposite to \* add *Shimminato*.—To the S. W. of and near *Shimminato*, opposite to \* add TAKAOKA.—N. B. For *Toyama* read TOMIYAMA.—PROVINCE OF YETCHIGO, S. E. of and nearly touching *Niigata* opposite to \* add NOUTARI.—S. E. of *Shiibata*, on the opposite side of the river on which *Shiibata* is, opposite to \* add MIHARA.—N. E. of *Teradomariminato* and on the road, opposite to \* add SANJO.—S. of *Nagaoka* on the *Shinano river* and at a point where the road crosses the river, opposite to \* add OCHIAI.

### TOKAIDO.

PROVINCE OF ISÉ, S. W. of *Yokaichi* (*Miyé*), on the road and just above *I* in *Miyé*, opposite to \* read KAMEAMA.—S. of *Kaméama*, near the sea and opposite to \* which is partly cover-



ed by the *M* of *Miyé*, add *Tsou*.—S. of *Tsou*, on a small river, above the *e* of *Ise* and touching the *T* of *Tokaido*, opposite to \* add MATSUZAKA.—N. E. of *Yokaichi* (*Miyé*) just under the *g* of *Nagoya*, opposite to \* add *Kouwana*.—PROVINCE OF OWARI, N. W. of *Nagoya*, above the *o* of *Owari* and between two rivers, opposite to \* add ITCHINOMIYA.—S.E. of and almost touching *Nagoya*, on the road, opposite to \* add ATSUTA.—PROVINCE OF IGA, above the *I* of *Iga*, on a river, opposite to \* add UYENO.—PROVINCE OF MIKAWA, N. W. of *Toyo-bashi*, under the *M* of *Mikawa*, opposite to \* add OKAZAKI.—W. of *Toyobashi*, on the coast, opposite to \* add OHAMA.—Between *Ohama* and *Okazaki* but nearer to the former than to the latter, opposite to \* add *Nishi-O*.—PROVINCE OF TOTOMI, E. of *Hamamatsu*, near the coast and opposite to \* add *Yokoska*.—PROVINCE OF SURUGA, E. of *Sizoo-oka*, on the sea and opposite to \* add SHIMIZU.—S. E. corner of this province, on the road, opposite to \* add NUMAZU.—PROVINCE OF SAGAMI, N. E. of cape *Tourukaki*, on the bay of *Tokio*, opposite to \* add OURAGA.—PROVINCE OF MUSASHI, to the left and touching the *T* of *Tokio*, opposite to \* add *Achioji*.—W. of *Urawa* (*Sailama*), above *as* of *Musashi* opposite to \* add *Kawagoi*.—Opposite to \* opposite to which *Kumagai* has been written in error, add *GODA*.—N. B. *Kumagai* is a very small place situated to the W. of and very near to *Goda*.—PROVINCE OF SHIMOSA, N. W. of *Choshi* and S. of the S. E. corner of the *Kasumi lake*, near the *Motodone river*, opposite to \* add SAWARA.—W. of *Choshi*, above the word *Chiba*, on a lake and opposite to \* add SAKURA.—Above *on* of *Motodone river*, opposite to \* add TORIKÉ.—PROVINCE OF HITATCHI, S. E. of and nearly touching *Mito*, on the coast and opposite to \* add ISOBAMA.—Above *Isobama*, on the coast and opposite to \* add *Saimokita*.—S. W. of *Mito*, on the road, opposite to \* add *Isooka*.

### KINAI.

PROVINCE OF YAMATO, S. W. of *Nara* and very near it, on the branch of a river and above the *N* of *Kinai*, opposite to \* add KORIYAMA.—PROVINCE OF IDSOUMI, N. E. of *Wakayama* in *Kii*, near the sea, opposite to \* add SANO.—PROVINCE OF SETSU, opposite to \* opposite to which *Hiogo* has

been written in error, add ITAMI.—N. B. *Hiogo* is situated opposite to \* which is at the point of contact of the *O* of *Osaka* with the *H* of *Hiogo*.—Partly covered by the *i* of *Hiogo* and to the *N* of the latter place, is the sign \* opposite to which add NISHI NO MIYA.—Under the *m* of *Idzumi* is \* opposite to which add KISHIWADA.—PROVINCE OF YAMASHIRO, S. of *Kioto* and very near it, on a river, and opposite to \* add FUSHIMI.—S. of *Fushimi*, to the right of the *i* of *Kawachi* and partly covered by the *A*. of *KINAI*, opposite to \* add YAWATA.

### NANKAIDO.

PROVINCE OF IYO, N. E. corner of this province, on the coast, opposite to \* add KAWANOYÉ.—N. E. of *Natsuyama* (*Yehimé*), on the *Mishima nada*, to the left of the *M* of *Mishima* and opposite to \* add IMAHARU.—N. W. of *Uwajima*, opposite to \* add YOSHIDA.—S. W. corner of the province, on the coast, opposite to \* add SATOUMINOURA.—PROVINCE OF AWAJI, S. E. corner of this island and N. W. of *Wakayama* in *Kii*, on the coast, opposite to \* add Yunaoura.—N. W. of *Yunaoura* and near it, opposite to \* add SUMOTO.—PROVINCE OF KII, W. of *Shingu*, at the mouth of a small river, on the coast and under the *O*. of *Nankaido*, opposite to \* add TANABÉ.—S. of *Wakayama*, on the coast, opposite to \* add YUWASA.—PROVINCE OF SANUKI, E. of *Takamatz*, opposite to \* add SHIDO.—E. of *Shido*, opposite to \* add TSOUDA.—W. of *Takamatz*, opposite to \* add SAKAMOTO.—W. of *Sakamoto* opposite to \* add MARUGAMÉ.—S. of *Marugamé* opposite to \* add Kotokira.

### SAN-INDO.

PROVINCE OF TAJIMA, under the *M* of *Miyazu*, opposite to \* add IDZUSI.—PROVINCE OF TAMBA, under the *m* of *Tamba* and some distance from it, on a river and to the left of the *K* of *Kioto*, opposite to \* add SASAYAMA.

### SANYODO.

PROVINCE OF NAGATO, N. E. and touching *Shimonoséki*, opposite to \* add TSHOFU.—PROVINCE OF SUWO on a large

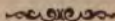
island (*Yatsushiro*) the name of which is not given on the map, and on the coast thereof facing the mainland in Suwo, opposite to \* add KUGA.—On the coast of *Yatshushiro*, facing *Iyo* in *Shikoku*, opposite to \* add AKAZA.—PROVINCE OF AKI, under the *m* of *Hiroshima*, opposite to \* add KAMISHI.—PROVINCE OF BINGO, N.E. of *Onomichi*, on the road, opposite to \* add FUKUYAMA.—Touching *Fukuyama*, on the sea, opposite to \* add NOGAMO.—W. of *Onomichi*, S. W. corner of the province, opposite to \* add MIHARA.—N. B. On the map for *Onomishi* read *Onomichi*.—PROVINCE OF BICHU, N. E. of *Oda*, opposite to \* add Kouraski.—W. of *Oda*, on the coast, S.W. corner of this province and opposite to \* add KASAOKA.—PROVINCE OF HARIMA, S. E. of *Himegi* (*Shikawa*), on the coast and opposite to \* add TAKASAGO.—S. E. of *Takasago*, S. E. corner of this province, on the road and opposite, to \* add *Akasi*.—S. W. corner of this province, on the sea, opposite, to \* add *Ako*.—Between *Ako* and *Himegi*, opposite to \* add *Tatsuno*.

#### SAIKAIDO.

PROVINCE OF CHIKUZEN, S. E. of *Fukuoka* and under *at* of *Hakata*, opposite to \* add AKISUKI.—PROVINCE OF BUNGO, S.W. of *Funai* (*Oita*) and under the *n* of *Bungo*, on a large river, opposite to \* add TAKEDA.—S.E. of *Funai* (*Oita*), on the *Bungo Chanel*, at the mouth of the river on which *Takeda* is situated and under the *n* of *Funai*, opposite to \* add TSEUROUSAKI.—S. E. of *Tseurousaki*, on the coast, opposite to \* add OUSEUKI.—PROVINCE OF HIGO, S. W. corner of *Amakusa I*, opposite to \* add USHIBUKA.—N. E. corner of *Amakusa I*, opposite to \* add GOREIO.—PROVINCE OF HIZEN, N.E. of *Saga*, above the *k* of *Chikugo*, opposite to \* add KOURUMÉ.—Between *Nagasaki* and *Kumamoto* (*Shirakawa*) in the province of *Chikugo*, on a peninsula, opposite to \* add SHIMABARA.

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On the map, the position of towns whose population is under 5,000 souls, is indicated by a dot thus : \*







## APPENDIX B.

Pages 190 and 191 : — « This province made a speciality of bronzes, that of porcelain, » etc. etc. See the table inserted opposite to page 293. This table comprises five grand divisions in which is to be found, in a condensed form, a series of statistical facts upon Japan, most of which is now published for the first time. The first two grand divisions (columns 1 to 17) were compiled from data obtained in the early part of 1874, from the statistical bureau of the O-Kura-Sho while I was yet in Government service, and the last three divisions (columns 18 to 114) were made with the assistance of Mr. Kawage, late of the O-Kura-Sho, from the Fu-Ken-busan-hio, 明治七年府縣物産表 府三縣六十 a statistical record collected by the Nai-Mu-Sho in 1873. The key accompanying the table (see page 293) is classified under descriptive heads and furnishes additional information concerning species of products not given in the table but belonging to generic groups that are named therein. The references to the key in this table are by numbers that guide to corresponding numbers in the key opposite to which are given the names required. Thus the varieties of grains and beans, comprised under the generic title of « other grains and beans », are designated in column 24, line one, by 1 to 9, corresponding to the figures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 of the key, page 295, opposite to which the names of the species of the genus « grains and beans » not to be found in the table, are furnished.

In the last column of each of the last three grand divisions of the table are to be found both the total value of the products of the national industry for each ken, and the total value of these same products for the whole Empire. For instance in column 48, line one, the number 1,879,747 expresses the total value of the products of agriculture, forests and fisheries for the Tokio fu, and the number 238,131,994, at the foot of the same column, the total value of the same class of products for the whole Empire.

In the last column (No. 114) of the table is to be found, opposite to the names of kens given in the first column, the total value of the products of the three great branches of the people's industry, agriculture, manufactures and mines in each ken; and the total found at the foot of the same column expresses the value of the products of national industry for the whole country.

The numbers written at the foot of the table opposite to and on a line with the words, « Total furnished by the O-Kura-Sho », are corrections that were made from very recent Ken-returns to the O-Kura-Sho and that were kindly communicated to me by order of H. E. OKUMA SHIGENOBU, after my manuscript had been placed in the hands of the printer. Unfortunately these corrections do not extend to the whole table which having been founded upon earlier data, is consequently in many points left inaccurate; and I would never have presumed to place it before the public had I not been pressed to do so by a number of friends who thought that, even with all its defects, it would still be of value to the merchant, the tourist and to those given to the study of industrial geography, to whom it will afford a series of entirely new and, I believe, the most reliable information



obtainable as to the exact location of the great centers of production in Japan.

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## KEY TO THE TABLE

INSERTED OPPOSITE TO PAGE 293.

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### **Agriculture, Forests & Fisheries.—**

#### **Grains and Beans.— Other Grains and Beans (Columns 24 to 26) :**

- 1 *Daizu*, 大豆.
- 2 *Shozu*, 小豆.
- 3 *Awa*, 粟, millet.
- 4 *Hiye*, 稗, a kind of millet.
- 5 *Kibi*, 黍, a kind of millet.
- 6 *Tomoro-koshi*, 蜀黍, indian corn.
- 7 *Soba*, 蕎麥, buckwheat.
- 8 *Hadakamogi*, 裸麥, oats.
- 9 *Miscellaneous beans*, 豆雜種.
- 10 *Moro-koshi*, 高粱, broom corn.
- 11 *Kara-hiye*, 唐稗, a kind of millet.

#### **Flour ( Columns 27 and 28 ) :**

- 1 *Somen-ko*, 素麵粉, a flour used for making vermicelli.
- 2 *Soba-ko*, 蕎麥粉, buckwheat flour.
- 3 *Mame-ko*, 豆粉, bean flour.
- 4 *Warabi-ko*, 蕨粉, a kind of flour.
- 5 *Kome-ko*, 米粉, rice flour.
- 6 *Ko-mugi-ko*, 小麥粉, wheat flour.

- 7 *Kibe-ko*, 黍粉, corn flour—*Tomoro-koshu-ko*, 蜀黍粉, indian corn flour.
- 8 *Miscellaneous flours*, 澱粉類雜種.
- 9 *Keshi*, 芥子, the poppey.
- 10 *Fu*, 蕻,

**Vegetables** (Columns 29 and 30):

- 1 *Kabu*, 蕪菁, the turnip—*Ningin*, 人參, the carrot.
- 2 *Daikon*, 大根, the radish.
- 3 *Na*, 菜, the colza.
- 4 *Negi*, 蔥, *Nira*, 韭, the onion.
- 5 *Kiuri*, 胡麻, the cucumber—*Togan*, 東瓜, a kind of melon—*Suikwa*, 西瓜, the water melon.—*Fukube*, 瓢, the calabash.
- 6 *Gobō*, 牛房, the dock.
- 7 *Togarashi*, 蕃椒, red pepper—*Karashi*, 椒 mustard. *Shoga*, 生芽, ginger.—*Sansho*, 山椒, *Kosho*, 胡椒 pepper.—*Wasabe*, 山葵, horse radish.—*Shiso*, 紫蘇 a kind of radish.
- 8 *Imo*, 芋, the potatoe.
- 9 *Kuwai*, 茲姑, *Renkon*, 蓮根, the lotus root.—*Juri no ne*, 百合根, the lily root.
- 10 *Oudo*, 濁沽, *Fuki*, 欸冬, *Mioga*, 茗荷
- 11 *Nassu*, 茄子, the egg plant.—*Warabe*, 蕨.
- 12 *Seri*, 芹, *Mitsuba Zeri*, 三葉芹, parsley.
- 13 *Miscellaneous vegetables*.
- 14 *Take no ko*, 竹筍, the bambo sprout.
- 15 *Fujimame*, 藤豆, a kind of bean.
- 16 *Cognac-dama*, 褐腐, a kind of edible root.

**Seeds and Fruits** (Columns 31 and 32):

- 1 *Natane*, 菜種, rapeseed.

- 2 *Je no tane*, 荏種, a seed from which an oil for burning is extracted.
- 3 *Goma*, 胡麻, *sessamum* seed.
- 4 *Kabudane*, 蕪菁種, turnip seed.—*Daikon dane*, 大根種, radish seed.
- 5 *Ume*, 梅子, the plum.—*Momo*, 桃子, the peach.—*Nashi*, 梨子, the pear,—*Kuri*, 栗子, the chestnut.—*Kaki*, 柿子, the persimmon.—*Biwa*, 花芭子, the loquat.
- 6 *Boudo*, 葡萄子, the grape.
- 7 *Sui ka no tane*, 西瓜種, water melon seeds.
- 8 *Miscellaneous fruits*, 果種雜類.
- 9 *Tea seeds*, 茶種.
- 10 *Ai-dane*, 藍種, indigo seeds.
- 11 *Dai-dai*, 橙子, *Mikan*, 柑子, *Kan-rui*, 柑類, varieties of oranges.
- 12 *Kai-shi-nomi*, 芥子種, poppey seed.
- 13 *Ronomi*, 櫨之實, a seed from which an oil, for burning is extracted.
- 14 *Kara-shi-nomi*, 椒ノ實, mustard seed.
- 15 *Ourou-shi-nomi*, 漆ノ實, a seed from which varnish is manufactured.—*Asa-dane*, 麻種, hemp seed.
- 16 *Kaya-nomi*, 榧ノ實, a seed from which an oil for cooking is made.
- 17 *Ginan*, 銀杏.
- 18 *Miscellaneous seeds*, 種實雜類.
- 19 *Matsu-nomi*, 松ノ實, a seed from which oil is made.
- 20 *Abura-no-kinomi*, 油ノ木實類, seeds from which various oils are made.
- 21 *Miscellaneous nuts*, 木ノ實類.
- 22 *Seeds used in medicine*, 藥用種實.



**Bamboo, Barks, Leaves, Timber, etc. etc.**  
(columns 34 and 35):

- 1 *Yane-ita*, 屋根板, shingles.
- 2 *Take*, 竹, bamboo.
- 3 *Sugi-no-kawa*, 杉ノ皮, the bark of the cedar tree, used as roofing material. — *Take-no-kawa*, 竹ノ皮, the bark of the bamboo, used as a substitute for paper in which to wrap up certain articles of food.
- 4 *Sugi*, 杉, the cedar tree. — *Matsu*, 松, the pine tree. — *Kuri*, 栗木, the chestnut tree. — *Momi*, モミ, a kind of tree. — *Kashiwa*, 柏, a kind of tree.
- 5 *Kiri*, 桐. — *Suginai*, 杉苗, the cedar. — *Sugi-ita*, 杉板, cedar planks.
- 6 *Kuwa-no-ki* and *Ha*, 桑之木并葉, the mulberry tree and mulberry leaves.
- 7 *Miscellaneous planks*, 板ノ雜類.
- 8 *Shiba*, 芝, grass used as feed for animals.
- 9 *Kuri-no-ki*, 栗ノ板, a young chestnut tree for planting.
- 10 *Hinoki*, 檜木板, a specie of pine tree highly prized for its fine grain.
- 11 *Kiri*, 桐板, a kind of tree.
- 12 *Warurui*, 藁類, all kinds of straw.
- 13 *Miscellaneous timber*, 材木雜類.
- 14 *Miscellaneous grasses*, 雜草類.
- 15 *Ronoki*, 櫨之木 a kind of hard wood. — *Kashinoki*, 榿之木, a kind of very hard wood.
- 16 *Shiro no kawa rui*, シロ皮類, all kinds of palms, the barks of which are used for roofing, also for making ropes.
- 17 *Kozu*, カウズ, also called, *kami-noki*, the paper tree, from the bark of which paper is made.

- 18 *Utsugi*, ウツギ, a kind of extremely hard wood from which wooden shingle-nails are made.
- 19 *Ashi*, 蘆, *Suge*, 菅, *E*, 葦, *Susuki*, ススキ, *Corianagi*, コリヤナギ, etc., etc. shrubs or plants from which coarse kinds of matting are made.
- 20 *Kiaki*, ケヤキ, one of the best, if not the best hard wood found in Japan. It grows to a great size.
- 21 *To shin*, 燈心, the pith of a shrub from which wicks for Japanese lamps are made.
- 22 *Gampi*, 雁皮, a tree from which a very thin, but very strong paper is made. The Japanese currency is now printed on a paper made from a material obtained from this tree, mixed with rags and *Kozu* [See no. 17].

**Other beasts and birds (Columns 42 and 43):**

- 1 *Bouta*, 豕, the pig.—*Inushishi*, 野猪, the wild pig.
- 2 *Kisune*, 狐, the fox.—*Tonoki*, 狸, the badger.—*Neko*, 猫, the cat.—*Kawa uso*, 河獺, the otter.
- 3 *Saru*, 猿, the monkey.—*Kouma*, 熊, the bear.
- 4 *Usangi*, 兎, the rabbit.—*Shika*, 鹿, the deer.
- 5 *Niwa tori rui*, 鶏之類, the fowl.
- 6 *Tamango*, 鶏卵, fowls' eggs, for breeding.
- 7 *Kigi*, 雉子, the pheasant.—*Hato*, 鳩, and *Kamo*, 鴨, the wild duck.—*Gan*, 雁, wild goose.—*Yama dori*, 山鳥, a species of pheasant.
- 8 *Miscellaneous birds*, 雜鳥類,
- 9 *Hiru*, 家鴨, the duck.—*Gacho*, 鵝鳥, the tame goose.
- 10 *Miscellaneous beasts*, 雜畜類,
- 11 *Stugi*, 羊, the sheep.
- 12 *Washi*, 鷲, the eagle.

**Fishes, shellfish, etc. (Columns 44 and 45):**

- 1 *Umiwo*, 海之魚, several species of sea fish.

- 2 *Kawa uwo*, 川之魚, several species of river fish.
- 3 *Kai rui*, 貝類, several species of shell fish.
- 4 Insects used in medicine, 藥用虫類.
- 5 *Several species of fish*, that live in both the sea and rivers, like the salmon, 河海兩生ノ魚.
- 6 *Kujira*, 鯨, the whale.
- 7 *Iwashi*, 鰯, the sardine.
- 8 *Same*, 鰐, the shark.
- 9 *Betsu*, 鼈, the tortoise, the scales of which are used in the manufacture of combs, hair ornaments, etc., etc. The flesh is used as food.
- 10 *Namako*, 海鼠, biche de mer.

**Fertilizers and horse feed (Col. 46 and 47) :**

- 1 *Torino fun*, 鳥糞, fowl excrements, a kind of fertilizer.
- 2 *Uwo*, *tori*, *kemonono honey*, *harawata*, *koyashi*,  
魚鳥畜類之骨腸肥料, fertilizers made from fish and from the flesh, the bones and intestines of other animals.
- 3 *Kasu rui koyashi*, 糟類肥料, a kind of fertilizer made of the refuse from the manufacture of sake (wine made of rice).
- 4 *Kaiso*, *Kinoha* and *Kayakusa koyashi*,  
海草木葉并= 芦草肥料, a fertilizer made of sea weed tea leaves, decomposed vegetable matter etc., etc.
- 5 *Gimpun*, 人糞, human dejection.
- 6 *Magusa*, 飼艸, several kinds of feed for cattle.
- 7 *Giubano fun koyashi*, } 牛馬糞肥料.  
Stable manure.
- 8 *Kakigara bai akuta bai sumi ishibai koyashi*, 蠣壳芥炭石灰肥料, a fertilizer made of shells and



various refuses such as old straw, old matting and lime stone.

9 *Koyashi mame*, 豆肥料, a fertilizer made of beans.

By reference to the above list, it will be seen that the materiel used to fertilize the soil in Japan, is supplied either by man or by branches of industry whose products are all consumed by the people of the country; and the increase or decrease of the supply of this material is almost entirely regulated by the increase or decrease of the population, without, however, any corresponding effect worth mentioning upon the national wealth.

The production of japanese manufactures being, as a rule, in direct ratio with that of the soil, and the latter being also proportionate to the amount of fertilizing matter available, the former does not generally exceed the quantity required by the people for their sustenance; and although the present sources of supply of manure may continue to be strained to their utmost limits, so long as the Japanese abstain from the flesh of the ox, sheep or hog, or persist in not making use of cattle in their agricultural labors, so long also will farm manure be wanting in the country, and the industries from the product of which, when in excess of the national requirements, the people are apt to derive an increase of wealth (for instance wheat, barley, tobacco, hemp, indigo, cotton and I should say silk, for even the mulberry tree requires manure<sup>1</sup>) will not increase to any perceptible extent.

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<sup>1</sup> The following receipt for manuring mulberry trees is recommended by practical farmers in Japan: « Before planting,

I am told that, in this perplexing position, the government intends to manufacture artificial manure from fish and they hope that ultimately the people may be induced to avail themselves of its use as fast as the plan for both the improvement and extension of interior communications is given effect to. This, to my mind, is impracticable, for if we consider the quantity of manure annually consumed in Japan<sup>2</sup>, we see that it would be impossible to produce from fish sufficient quantities of artificial fertilizers to sensibly augment the national production, even were the ruin of the national fisheries submitted to as the inevitable result of the enormous destruction of fish which the fabrication of fish manure on a large scale would necessitate. And it seems to me that if further geological surveys do not lead to the discovery of some mineral fertilizer in Japan, like for instance *phosphorite*, which is sometimes found in alluvial formations and is now so extensively utilized in France, it would be wiser for the state to encourage the use of guano. This sub-

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first use oil cakes, afterwards beans, thirdly fish; and after the tree has attained a sufficient height, apply rice dust. About fifty sen of manure used in the foregoing way, is required for thirty *tsubo* of land within which space, it is said, about 130 small trees or either fifty of medium or four of large size can thrive.

<sup>2</sup>A reference to columns 18, 22 and 42 of the table given opposite to page 293, will show that 11,050,556 koku of barley and 7,367,037 koku of wheat are produced annually in Japan; and the area devoted to the cultivation of both these grains and other vegetables, such as tobacco, indigo, beans, cotton, etc., except rice, is 1,917,020 cho.

Now if we fix the weight of a koku of barley at 311.61 english pounds, and if we admit a yield of  $20 \frac{92}{100}$  kokupercho,

tance could probably be economically transported to almost any part of Japan whence rice is sent either to

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including the seed, we find that 6,520 lbs. of barley is produced to the cho, that the 11,050,556 koku of that grain yearly harvested in Japan probably weigh 3,443,463,755 pounds and that the area covered by barley culture is about 528,138 cho. Again if we fix the weight of a koku of wheat at 389.25 pounds, admitting a yield of 11.01 koku per sho, including the seed, we find that one cho produces 4,286 pounds of wheat and that 7,367,037 koku of that grain weigh 2,867,619,152 pounds or 1,280,187 tons, and that the area devoted to the cultivation of that cereal in Japan is probably equal to 669,066 cho.

Now, if we subtract the number of cho planted in barley and wheat from 1,917,020 cho (the area devoted to miscellaneous cultures), we have a balance of 719,816 cho of land on which all other crops, except rice, wheat and barley, that is mulberry, tea, tobacco, root crops and other miscellaneous vegetables are grown. Again experience shows that one cho of land sown in grain needs at least 670 pounds of guano, and that if it is sown or planted in any other kind of vegetables, a much larger quantity of that fertilizer is generally needed; so that *at the very lowest calculation* 448,274,220 pounds or 200,120 tons of guano would be wanted for wheat fields in Japan, 353,852,460 pounds, or 157,769 tons for barley fields, and 2,159,448,000 pounds or 964,039 tons for other cultures, such as, for instance, tobacco, hemp, cotton, colza, etc., or altogether for the whole area devoted to miscellaneous cultures, 1,321,928 tons of guano, or 39,397,237 tons of farm manure, or such quantities of fish manure as may be determined by both the specific gravity and fertilizing power of the latter, compared to those of guano. Thus we see if the area devoted in Japan to miscellaneous cultures, is to be increased  $\frac{1}{8}$  or  $\frac{1}{4}$  either  $\frac{1}{8}$  or  $\frac{1}{4}$  in weight of the kind of fish manure that it may be decided to use and that would be required to dress the present area, must be manufactured. In calculating



Tokio or to Osaka, its specific gravity being greater than

what these quantities in pounds should be, the tables hereunder given may be of service :

| VEGETABLES OR GRAINS HARVESTED<br>AND WEIGHT OF MANURE ABSORBED. |                     |                          | QUANTITIES<br>of Farm manure<br>generally used per<br>cho in raising the<br>vegetables & grains<br>named in column 1. | QUANTITIES OF GUANO<br>that may be used as<br>substitutes for the quantities<br>of farm manure named<br>in column 4. |                                      | OBSERVATIONS. |
|--|---------------------|--------------------------|---|--|--------------------------------------|---------------|
| Names.   |                     | Quantities<br>harvested. |   | Weight of<br>manure<br>absorbed.   |                                      |               |
| 1  | 2                   | 3                        | 4   | 5  | 6                                    |               |
| Wheat (grain and straw).   | 208.09 lbs.         | 535.18 lbs.              | 29,994.00 lbs.  | From 670 to 998 lbs.   | As a rule where 100 lbs.             |               |
| Barley do.   | $\frac{1}{2}$ koku. | 574.00 "                 | 29,121.00 "   | " 670 to 969 "   | of the best farm manure              |               |
| Beans (grain and dry stalk)                                      | 208.09 lbs.         | 93.56 "                  | 44,793.00 "   | " 1,003 to 1,404 "   | has to be used, only 3 <sup>as</sup> |               |
| Tobacco (dry leaves) ....  | 208.09 "            | 2,010.00 "               | 128,683.00 "  | " 4,385 —  | English pounds of good               |               |
| Hemp (hart).....   | 208.09 "            | 4,024.00 "               | 120,000.00 "  | " 3,996  | Peruvian guano are needed.           |               |
| Rape seed.....   | ...                 | ...                      | 88,469.00 "   | " 2,946  |                                      |               |

The following table is by M. M. Bous-ingault and Payen :

| NAMES OF FISHES.                             | MANURE<br>used per cho in<br>kilogrammes. |
|--|---|
| Morue lavée, pressée et séchée à l'air ..... | 714 kilog.                                |
| Harengs séchés à l'air .....                 | 723 "                                     |
| Raie do. ....                                | 3,453 "                                   |
| Maquereau do. ....                           | 3,207 "                                   |
| Harengs frais do. ....                       | 4,806 "                                   |
| Merlan do. ....                              | 4,977 "                                   |
| Goujon do. ....                              | 4,332 "                                   |

| NAMES OF FISHES.                        | MANURE<br>used per cho in<br>kilogrammes. |
|---|---|
| Congre séchée à l'air.....              | 5,520 kilog.                              |
| Salmon do. ....                         | 5,739 "                                   |
| Anguille do. ....                       | 6,000 "                                   |
| Sole do. ....                           | 6,282 "                                   |
| Harengs frais sortant de l'eau do. .... | 433 "                                     |
| Ablotie do. ....                        | 4,476 "                                   |
| Brochet do. ....                        | 3,690 "                                   |

that of rice<sup>3</sup>; and its introduction into the Empire might lead to the creation of a valuable export trade in commodities, such as rice, vermicelli, porcelain household utensils and indigo, consumed by the two or three hundred thousand Chinese and Indians living on the coasts of Peru and adjacent republics, whose supplies of these articles could be more economically derived from Japan than from any other country.

### Manufactures<sup>4</sup>.—Brewed articles

(Column 57):

- 1 *Sake*, 酒, a wine made from rice.
- 2 *Shiro sake*, 白酒, white sake.
- 3 *Nigori sake*, 濁酒, a very common sake.
- 4 *Mayshu*, 銘酒, a sweet sake, a sort of liquor.
- 5 *Shoyu*, 醤油, a sauce made from fermented rice.
- 6 *Koji*, 麹, yeast or barm, the scum rising upon sake when fermenting. Among other things it is used in liquors to make them work.
- 7 *Mirin*, 味淋, a sweet sake, used for cooking purposes.
- 8 *Su*, 酢, a vinegar made from sake.
- 9 *Miso*, 味噌, fermented beans, used as a condiment.
- 10 *Shochu*, 焼酎, spirits distilled from sake.

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<sup>3</sup> It takes 4.84 koku of guano to make one ton of 2,240 english pounds, while of rice it takes 7.48 koku.

<sup>4</sup> The species of brewed articles not given in column 57 of the Table, inserted opposite to page 293 are hereunder designated by numbers that guide to corresponding numbers in the list above, opposite to which are to be found the names of said species for each ken.

FUS.—Tokio 1 to 13. Kioto 1 to 12. Osaka 1. 2. 5 to 10.

KENS.—Kanagawa 1. 2. 3. 5 to 10. Hiogo 1. 2. 5. 6 to 10. Nagasaki 1. 3. 5. 6. 8 to 10. Niigata 1 to 12. Saitama 1 to 5.

- 11 *Nato*, 納豆, fermented beans (liquid).
- 12 *Kamoshimono*, 諸醸造物, a kind of yeast.
- 13 *Mugisake*, 麥酒, beer (lit. barley wine).

### Drugs and Medicines (Column 58).

Under this head is given in the *Fu-Ken-Tsu-san-hio*, a list of substances that are chiefly used in the old style of Chinese medicine which is still in general favor among the Japanese people; and there being no benefit in a scientific point of view, to be derived from an acquaintance with the names of most of these substances unless their nomenclature were accompanied with a full description of both their composition or supposed properties, together with such other details as would not comport

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8 to 10. Asigara 1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 8 to 11. Chiba 1 to 10. Nii-haru 1. 2. 3. 5 to 10. Ibaraki 1 to 10. Kumagai 1. 3 to 6. 8 to 11. Tochigi 1 to 10. Nara 1. 2. 4 to 10. Sakai 1. 2. 5. 7. to 10. Miyé 1 to 5. 7 to 10. Watarai 1. 5 to 10. Aichi 1. 2. 4 to 13. Hamamatzu 1. 2. 4 to 11. Sizou-oka 1 to 11. Yamanashi 1 to 13. Shiga 1 to 5. 7. 10. Gifu 1 to 5. 7 to 10. Chikuma 1. 4. 5. 7 to 10. Nagano 1. 4. 5. 7 to 9. Miyage 1 to 5. 7 to 10. Fukushima 1 to 6. 8 to 10. Iwamayé 1 to 10. Wakamatz 1. 3. 5. to 10. 12. Iwai 1 to 5. 7 to 10. Iwaté 1 to 3. 5 to 10. Awomori 1 to 5. 7 to 10. Yamagata 1 to 3. 5. 6. 8. 10. Okitama 1. 2. 3. 5 to 11. Sakata 1. 3. 5. 6. 8 to 10. Akita 1. 3. 5 to 10. Tzrugá 1. 3 to 5. 7 to 10. Ishikawa 1. 3 to 10. Nikawa 1. 3. 5. 7 to 10. Aikawa 1. 3. 5. 8. 9. Toyo-oka 1. 3. 5 to 10. Tottori 1 to 3. 5 to 10. Shimané 1. 3. 5 to 10. Hamada 1. 3 to 6. 8. 9. Shikama 1. 3. 5 to 10. Yamaguchi 1. 3 to 5. 7 to 9. Wakayama 1. 4. 5. 7 to 9. Mioto 1. 4 to 10. Yéhimé 1 to 10. Kochi 1. 3 to 5. 7 to 10. Fukuoka 1. 3. 5. 6. 8 to 10. 12. Miizma 1. 3. 5. 8. 9. Kokura 1 to 3. 5 to 10. 12. O-ita 1. 3. 5 to 10. Saga 1. 3. 5. Shirakawa 1 to 3. 5. 8 to 10. Miyasaki 1. 3. 5. 6. 8. 9. 10. Hojio 1 to 3. 5 to 10. Okayama 1. 2. 4 to 6. 8. 9. Hiroshima 1 to 10. 12. Oda 1. 4. 5. 8. 10. Kagoshima 5. 8. 9. 10.



with the nature of this work<sup>5</sup>, I will quote here from the list only those substances that find their application in western pharmacopœa, arts or manufactures, viz : Ninsing (人參) found in the kens of Tochigi, Aichi, Gifu, Nagano, Fukushima, Wakamatz, Iwai, Awomori, Okitama, Tottori, Shimané, Shikama and Shirakawa ; opium (Ahen 阿片) produced in the Osaka fu and also in the kens of Yamanashi and Gifu ; oil of peppermint (*Hakkaso abura* 薄荷艸油) manufactured in the Kyoto fu and the kens of Nagasaki, Niigata, Wakamatz and Oda ; incense (*Kō* 香) made in the fu of Kyoto and Osaka and in the kens of Hiogo, Niigata, Kumagai, Tochigi, Nara, Watarai, Iwai, Iwaté, Shimané, Shikama, and Okayama ; camphor (*Shono* 樟腦) manufactured in the kens of Yamaguchi, Mito, Kochi, Ōita, Shirakawa and Miyasaki ; gunpowder (*Ensho* 焰硝) made both in Ishikawa and Hoyio ; salpeter (*Shoseki* 硝石) mentioned among the articles produced in the fu of Osaka and in the ken of Nikawa ; rhubarbe (*Daio* 大黃) found in Nara and finally sulphur (*Iwo* 硫黃) manufactured in Iwaté.

**Articles of food**<sup>6</sup> (Column 59).

1 *Somen*, 素麵, vermicelli.

2 *Undou*, 溫純, macaroni.

3 *Kuashi*, 菓子, cakes.

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<sup>5</sup> All these details will be found in Mr. A. J. C. GEERTS' able work on the natural productions of Japan : *Les produits de la nature Japonaise et Chinoise*, etc.—Yokohama. C. LÉVY, Imprimeur-Editeur.—1878.

<sup>6</sup> The species of articles of food not given in column 59 of the table inserted opposite to page 293 are hereunder designated by numbers that guide to corresponding numbers in the list

- 4 *Ame*, 飴 an article of food made from wheat.
- 5 *Miscellaneous articles*, 雜種.
- 6 *Tofu*, 豆腐, paste made from beans.
- 7 *Coniac*, 蒟弱, a dry vegetable mixture.
- 8 *Tamango*, 鵝卵, fowl's eggs put up in boxes with rice husk between the eggs, whereby the latter are kept fresh for a few weeks.
- 9 *Ahiru tamango*, 家鴨卵, duck eggs.
- 10 *Sato*, 砂糖, sugar.
- 11 *Amacha*, 甘茶 the name of a sweet infusion used for washing the image of Shaka, on the anniversary of his birth, and for other purposes.
- 12 *Camboots*, 乾物, dried vegetables.
- 13 *Sei-en*, 製鹽, refined salt.
- 14 *Miscellaneous articles*, 雜種.
- 15 *Guraku*, 煎牛酪, preserved milk.

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above, opposite to which are to be found the names of said species for each ken :

FUS.—Tokio 1. 4. 5. 17. 31. 33. 34. Kioto 3. 4 to 10. 14. 28. 34 to 36. Osaka 2. 5. 10. 14. 15. 18. 19. 27. 29. 33. 36.

KENS.—Kanagawa 1. 13. 14. 31. Hiogo 1. 5. 6. 14. 28. Nagasaki 1. 3. 5. 13. 14. 24. 25. 34. 35. 37. Niigata 1 to 7. 13. 14. 16. 17. 19. 37. Saitama 1. 3 to 6. 14. 33. Asigara 1. 3 to 6. 14. 24. Chiba 2. 4. 12 to 14. 17. 24. Nii-haru 2 to 5. 14. 18. 24. Ibaraki 1. 13. 14. 18. 19. 24. Kumagai 1. 3. 4. 6. 7. 14. 18. 19. 28. Tochigi 1. 2. 3. 6. 12. 14. Nara 1. 3. 5 to 7. 10. 12. 14. 20. 28. 29. Sakai 1. 3. 6. 10. 14. 18. Miyé 1. 7. 10. 14. 15. 32. 37. 38. Watari 1. 4. 5. 7. 12. 13. 14. 24. 37. Aichi 1. 3. 5. 6. 7. 10. 12. 14. 15. 16. 17. 39. Hamamatsu 1. 3. 4. 10. 13. 14. 18. 24. 28. 38. Sizoo-oka 1. 3. 6. 10. 14. 18. 20. 28. 37. Yamanashi 1. 3. 4. 6. 12. 14. 18. 28. Shiga 12. Gifu 1. 2. 14. 18. 19. Chikuma 2. 3. 6. 12. 14. 18. 20. 27. 28. Nagano 4. 6. 14. 15. 18. 19. 28. Miyaki 2. 3. 4. 7. 13. 14. 18. 19. 20. 28. Fukushima 1 to 4. 6. 7. 12. 14. 18. Iwamayé 13. 23. Wakamatz 1 to 6. 14. 18. 28. 39. 40.

- 16 *Misomono*, 味噌物, vegetables preserved in *miso* (see No. 9, BREWED ARTICLES).
- 17 *Kasuzuke*, 糟漬, vegetables preserved in *kamoshi-mono* (see No. 12, BREWED ARTICLES).
- 18 *Tsukemono*, 漬物, pickles.
- 19 *Hoshifu*, 干麩, dry articles of food made from flour.
- 20 *Soba*, 蕎麥, macaroni made from buckwheat.
- 21 *Himono*, 干物, dried fish (salted).
- 22 *Shiwokujira*, 鹽鯨, salted whale.
- 23 *Hoshikujira*, 干鯨, dried whale.
- 24 *Katsubushi*, 鰹節, an article of food made of dried fish, and which can be preserved for years. The *Katsubushi* scraped and mixed with boiled rice, makes a very palatable dish often seen on Japanese tables.
- 25 *Hoshiume*, 干梅, dried plum.
- 26 *Gioko*, 魚膠, a paste made from sea-weed.
- 27 *Kanten*, *tokoroten*, 寒天, 苧太, an article made

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Iwai 6. 12. 13. 14. 18. 24. 28. 38. Iwaté 3. 13. 24. 28.  
 Awomori 1. 3. 5. 13. 14. 18. 20. 24. 28. Yamagata 1. 2. 14.  
 18. 19. Okitama 1. 2. 3. 6. 7. 14. 16. 18. 20. 31. Sakata 1.  
 2. 3. 17. 19. Akita 1 to 4. 6. 13. 28. Tzuga 1. 2. 6. 7. 13.  
 19. 29. 33. Ishikawa 1 to 7. 12. 13. 14. 17. 19. 20. 28. Nika-  
 wa 1 to 7. 12. 14. 18. 19. 20. Aikawa 5. 14. 24. Toyo-oka 1.  
 3. 6. 7. 13. 14. 19. 20. 28. 38. Tottori 1. 2. 4. 6. 7. 10 to  
 14. Shimané 1. 2. 5 to 7. 12. 16. Hamada 1 to 4. 6. 7. 10. 13.  
 Shikama 1. 3. to 7. 10. 13. 14. 18. Yamaguchi 1. 2. 3. 13. 23.  
 Wakayama 1. 6. 10. 17. 24. 25. Mioto 1. 3 to 6. 12. 13. Ye-  
 himé 1. 2. 10. 14. 16. 18. 19. 25. 26. 27. Kotchi 1. 5. 10. 15.  
 28. Fukuoka 1. 4. 5. 10. 12. 13. 27. 28. Mitzma 1. 10. 18.  
 19. Kokura 3 to 7. 15. 18. 19. 20. 28. 29. Oita 1. 2. 3. 10.  
 13. 18. 19. 25. Saga 1. 3. 5. 10. 13. 19. Shirakawa 1. 2. 6.  
 7. 10. 15. 24. 25. Miyasaki 1. 3. 4. 6. 10. 13. 14. 18. 24.  
 Hoyio 1 to 7. 20. Okayama 1. 5. 10. 12. 13. 14. Hiroshima 1  
 to 4. 6. 7. 10. 15. 17. 18. 28. Oda 1. 10. 13. 14. Kagoshima  
 1. 10. 13. 14. 27.



from sea-weed and used for making jelly and cake. It is now exported to both Europe and China.

- 28 *Seniku*, 製肉, preserved meat chiefly venison.
- 29 *Uba*, 湯波, an article of food made of dried vegetables.
- 30 *Hoshikudamono*, 干果物, various dried fruits.
- 31 *Butter*, 牛酪, butter.
- 32 *Kanraku*, 甘酪, cheese.
- 33 *Suzukemono*, 酢漬, articles of food kept in vinegar.
- 34 *Satozuke*, 砂糖漬, various articles of food, like fish, vegetables, etc., preserved in sugar.
- 35 *Pain*, 麵包, bread.
- 36 *Combu*, 昆布, an article of food made from sea-weed, now exported to China.
- 37 *Kamabuku*, 蒲鉾, an article of food made of the flesh of fish converted into a hard paste.
- 38 *Kanzuke*, 罐漬, provisions preserved in tin boxes in the foreign style.
- 39 *Hoshizakana*, 干魚, dried fish (not salted).
- 40 *Kori*, 氷, stored ice.

**Paper, stationary, etc. (Column 60)<sup>7</sup>.**

- 1 *Hosho*, 奉書, and *Nori-ire*, 粘入, these are the best kinds of writing papers known in Japan. They are made of *kozu* (see No. 17, BAMBOO BARKS, LEAVES etc.) and other materials mixed.

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<sup>7</sup> FUS.—Tokio 6. 10. 11. 27. 42. 44 to 49. Kioto 1 to 7. 10. 34. 44. 45. 47. 48. 49. Osaka 6. 10. 27. 44. 47. 48. 51.

KENS.—Kanagawa 11. 27. Hiogo 10. 11. 27. 47. 48. 50. 52. 53. Nagasaki 4. 10. 27. 47. Niigata 4. 5. 6. 11. 47. Saitama 10. 11. Asigara 4. 10. 11. 27. 39. 53. Chiba 10. 11. 49. 54. Nii-haru.....Ibaraki 3. 4. 5. 10. 39. 49. Kumagai 2. 3. 4. 10. 11. 39. 44. 47. 55. Tochigi 3. 4. 5. 10. 11. 44. Nara 10. 11. 47. 48. 56. Sakai 11. Miyé 6. 44. 57. Watarai 3. 5. 6. 10.

- 2 *Minogami*, 美濃紙, a paper made from the bark of the *kozu* tree (see No. 1); it is very strong and is used as a substitute for window glass throughout Japan.
- 3 *Nishinoushi*, 西之内, and *odomura*, 程邈, both are very strong papers and are used for drawing up deeds and other important documents.
- 4 *Hanshi*, 半紙, a common writing paper.
- 5 *Chirigami*, 塵紙, a very common paper made from the refuse of materials used in the manufacture of the best kinds of paper.
- 6 *Abura kami*, 油紙, an oiled paper, used for wrapping, also for covering umbrellas or boxes.
- 7 *Noshi kami*, 摩紙, a common wrapping paper.
- 8 *Sugihara kami*, 杉原紙, a soft paper used for both wrapping and writing.

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11. 47. Aichi 4. 6. 19. 45. 47. Hamamatsu 2. 4. 10. 11. 47. Sizoo-oka 1. 2. 4. 10. 11. 20. 26. 47. 58. Yamanashi 4. 10. 20. 44. 45. 49. Shiga 3. 10. 47. 53. Gifu 2 to 10. 11. 20. 49. Chikuma 4. 6. 10. 11. 12. 29. 53. Nagano 1. 4. 10. 47. 55. Miyaki 3. 5. 10. 11. 17. 47. Fukushima 1. 4. 5. 6. 10. 12. 55. Iwamayé 1. 4. 5. 10. Wakamatz 2. 3. 4. 10. 11. 49. Iwai 4. 10. 11. 47. 59. Iwaté 2. 3. 4. 10. 11. 29. Awomori 10. 40. Yamagata 1. 5. 6. 10. 29. Okitama 4. 5. 10 to 12. 47. Sakata 10. Okita 1. 2. 4. 10. 11. 20. 47. Tzruga 1. 4. 6. 10. 11. 26. 27. 44. 48. Ishikawa 4. 6. 10. 11. 26. 34. 47. 48. Niikawa 2. 4. 6. 10. 47. 48. Aikawa 10. 49. Toyo-oka 3. 4. 10. 11. 16. 49. Tottori 2. 10. 8. 12. 16. 17. Shimané 2. 4. 5. 6. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. Hamada 1 to 4. 8. 10. Tottori 4. 5. 8. 10. 11. 15. 18. Shimané 4. 11. 19. 20. 21. Wakayama 5. 11. 22. Mioto 2. 4. 5. 10. 11. 19. 22. 23. 24. Yehimé 1. 4. 5. 6. 22. 25. Kochi 4. 8. 10. 25. 27. 28. Fukuoka 4. 5. 10. 12. 21. 30. Mitzma 1. 2. 6. 10. 20. 31 to 34. Kokura 4. 10. 20. 35. Oita 4. 6. 10. 11. 20. 31. 36. Saga 4. 5. 6. 37. Shirakawa 1. 2. 4. 11. 23. 38. Miyasaki 4. 5. 20. 23. 33. Hoyio 4. 5. 10. 12. 39. Okayama 4. 5. 6. 11. 12. Hiroshima 3 to 5. 10. 24. 40. Oda 4. 5. 12. Kagoshima 4. 7. 10. 33.

- 9 *Chubosho*, 中奉書, same as No. 8.
- 10 *Miscellaneous common papers*.
- 11 *Shigaishi*, 抄返, a common paper.
- 12 *Orikami*, 折紙, a kind of paper.
- 13 *Mina ase kami*, 皆瀬紙, do.
- 14 *Sofuya kami*, 祖父谷, a kind of thick paper.
- 15 *Kuabara kami*, 桑原, a kind of paper.
- 16 *Kaida kami*, 皆田, do.
- 17 *Hanakami*, 鼻紙, a kind of paper used by Japanese as a substitute for handkerchiefs.
- 18 *Bunko kami*, 文庫紙, a paper used for covering boxes.
- 19 *Kosugi*, 小杉, same as No. 17.
- 20 *Hankiri*, 半切, note paper.
- 21 *Kuroyasu*, 黒安, a kind of paper.
- 22 *Sanka kami*, 仙花, do.
- 23 *Uda kami*, 宇多, do.
- 24 *Kuchikami*, 口紙, a paper used for making kinds of stoppers for bottles. It is also used as a substitute for cloth to cover fruit dishes etc., to preserve the contents from dust and flies.
- 25 *Tukenaga*, タケ長, a kind of paper used by hair-dressers.
- 26 *Hatsunobe*, 厚延, a kind of paper.
- 27 *Toshi*, 唐紙, an imitation of chinese paper.
- 28 *Kionaga*, 清長, a kind of paper.
- 29 *Shiroyasu*, 白安, do.
- 30 *Iwatekami*, 岩手, do.
- 31 *Irogatu*, 色形, do.
- 32 *Nakayui*, 中結, a kind of paper used for making narrow strips.
- 33 *Ikuta*, 幾田, a kind of paper.



- 34 *Irokami*, 色紙, a kind of paper used for papering the walls of rooms. It is colored in various styles, and sometimes is enriched with gold and silver designs.
- 35 *Tsunami*, ツナミ.
- 36 *Yamanaka*, 山中.
- 37 *Misokuchi*, 溝口, a soft thick paper.
- 38 *Gampi*, 雁皮, a thin but strong paper.
- 39 *Nabeas*, 延安, a kind of paper.
- 40 *Chuyasu*, 中安, do.
- 41 *Shubukami*, 澁紙, a kind of paper made water proof not with oil, but with the sap or juice of a certain kind of tree.
- 42 *Karakami*, 加羅紙, a sort of paper generally used for drawings, paintings or writing, and hung on walls.
- 43 *Iōshi*, 洋紙, an imitation of foreign writing paper.
- 44 A great many varieties of both writing and printing papers, the former mostly used for account books.
- 45 *Mizu-hiki*, 水引, material used in the manufacture of paper strings.
- 46 *Otaka*, 大高, a thick white paper, used for engrossing, very expensive.
- 47 *Fude*, 筆, brushes used by Japanese for writing.
- 48 *Sumi*, 墨, indian ink.
- 49 *Bumporui*, articles sold by stationers, as any kinds of letter and note paper, ink, inkstands, envelopes, etc.
- 50 *Ogikami*, 扇紙, a kind of paper used in making fans.
- 51 *Sekiban*, 石板, slates used for writing on.
- 52 *Mani ai kami*, 間似合, a thick writing paper used for drawing up leases, bills of sale and like documents.
- 53 *Ogampi*, 大雁皮, a large size of *gampi* paper (see No. 38).
- 54 *Kamiziku*, カミズキイ, a kind of fancy wrapping paper.

- 55 *Tonekamiyoshi*, 蚕種紙, a paper used in the manufacture of silk worm eggs cards.
- 56 *Urushikikami*, 漆引, a varnished paper.
- 57 *Somegatakami*, 染形紙, a paper used in the manufacture of screens.
- 58 *Surugabanshi*, 駿河半紙, a thin waste paper.
- 59 *Saihokami*, 西方紙, a kind of paper.

**Oil and Wax** (Columns 61 and 62).

- 1 *Yenoabura*, 荏油, an oil made from *ye* seeds (see SEEDS AND FRUITS, No. 2, pages 296 and following).
- 2 *Nataneabura*, 菜種油, rape seed oil (see SEEDS AND FRUITS, No. 1, pages 296 and following).
- 3 *Goma abura*, 胡麻油, goma oil (see SEEDS AND FRUITS No. 3, pages 296 and following).
- 4 *Rosoku*, 蠟燭, vegetable wax-candles.
- 5 *Ro*, 蠟, vegetable wax.
- 6 *Kiriabura*, 桐油, *kiri* oil (see BAMBOO BARKS, LEAVES, TIMBER, etc., No. 5, pages 298 and following).
- 7 *Kushi kadzuri abura*, 梳用油, a compound oil formed by the mixture of various oils and used by hair-dressers.
- 8 *Miscellaneous oils.*
- 9 *Tsubaki no abura*, 椿油, camelia oil.
- 10 *Kashiwa no abura*, 柏油, *kashi* oil (see BAMBOO, BARKS, LEAVES, TIMBER, etc., No. 15, pages 298 and following).
- 11 *Gioto*, 魚油, fish oil.
- 12 *Watadane abura*, 綿種油, cotton seed oil, used for burning.
- 13 *Kujira no abura*, 鯨油, whale oil.
- 14 *Kemono no ro*, 獸蠟, fat.
- 15 *Kemono no abura*, 獸油, animal oil.
- 16 *Ro abura*, 蠟油, wax oil.
- 17 *Shiro abura*, 白油, purified white oil.

- 18 *Kayano abura*, 榧油, kaya, an oil used in cooking  
(see SEEDS AND FRUITS, No. 16, pages 296 and following).  
19 *Choji abura*, 丁子油, clove oil.  
20 *Kinomi no abura*, 不之實油, an oil extracted from  
various nuts.  
21 *Dokuye no abura*, 毒在油, yeno oil, very poisonous  
(not in the list of seeds and fruits, pages 296 & following).  
22 *Egoma*, 在胡麻油, an inferior oil used for both  
cooking and burning.  
23 *Mitsuro*, 密蠟, bees wax.  
24 *Yamachano abura*, 山茶油, mountain tea oil.  
25 *Shonono abura*, 瑯瑯油, camphor oil.

**Porcelain and Pottery** (Columns 63 and 64).

- 1 *Rengaseiki*, 鍊化石, the brick.  
2 *Kawara*, 瓦, the tile.  
3 *Chawan*, 茶碗, sara, 皿, dobin, 土瓶, daidoko-  
rodogu, 家具, plates, dishes, cups, etc., in fact all sorts  
of household utensils made of porcelain.  
4 *Kahey toki*, 花瓶, *Oyobi toki*, 陶器, *Utsukushiki-*  
*toki*, 美陶器, vases, flower pots and fancy articles  
made of porcelain.  
5 *Okimonotoki*, 陶置物, and *Kasarimono toki*,  
陶飾物, figures and ornaments made of porcelain.  
6 *Hibachi*, 火鉢, fire-pots.  
7 *Miscellaneous porcelains*.  
8 *Somekame*, 染瓶, vases used by dyers.  
9 *Bankotoki*, 萬古燒, pottery made of brown clay,  
varnished and ornamented in different styles.

**Curios, Toys, Fancy articles and Sundries**  
(Columns 70 and 71).

- 1 *Zogey oyobi tsuno ziku*, 象牙及角細工, arti-  
cles made of ivory or horn.



- 2 *Kjira oyobi honey ziku*, 鯨及骨細工類, articles made of whale bone, or of the bones of other animals.
- 3 *Karakiziku*, 唐木細工, articles carved in precious wood.
- 4 *Bekko ziku*, 鼈甲細工, articles made of tortoise shell.
- 5 *Kawa ziku*, 革細工, fancy articles made of leather.
- 6 *Zakka gambutsu*, 雜貨弄物類, toys and fancy articles.
- 7 *Bidoroki*, 玻璃器, glass ware.
- 8 *Ogi karakasa oyobi chochin*, 扇傘及ヒ提灯, fans, umbrellas and paper lamps.
- 9 *Gakki*, 樂器, musical instruments.
- 10 *Shinbutsugu*, 神佛具, articles of religion such as images, rosaries, relics, etc.
- 11 *Miscellaneous articles*, such as toothpicks, dolls, kites, stamps, etc.
- 12 *Kura bangu oyobi katana furubuki*, 鞍馬具及ヒ刀古武器, saddles, harness and old styles of weapons.
- 13 *Hake*, 刷, brushes.
- 14 *Yuki*, 游器, articles used in games, like *shogi*, 將棋, *go*, 棋, or chess.
- 15 *Sango oyobi tamazaiku*, 珊瑚及玉細工, coral and articles made therefrom.
- 16 *Kaizaiku*, 貝細工, articles made of shells.
- 17 *Kiseiru tobacco ire oyobi kaichu mono*, 喜世留煙草入及ヒ懷中物, tobacco pouches and tobacco pipes, also articles to be carried in the pocket, like card cases.
- 18 *Warazaiku*, 藁細工, straw goods.
- 19 *Kangami oyobi tomegane to*, 鏡及ヒ望遠鏡等, mirrors, telescopes, etc.

- 20 *Kinokawazaiku*, 木皮細工, fancy articles made of the bark of trees.  
21 *Hanabi*, 花火, fire-works.  
22 *Kinokasa*, 木笠, hats made of the bark of trees or of wood.  
23 *Amagu*, 雨具, rain coats.  
24 *Taimats*, 松明, torches.

**Lacquered Utensils and fancy articles**

(Columns 72 and 73).

- 1 *Tansu tana hana ike to*, 簞司棚花活等, cabinets, vases, etc.  
2 *Takushi bon oyobi kazai*, 卓子盆其外家具, tables, trays and household articles.  
3 *Keshodogu*, 粧具, toilet articles such as washing stands, looking-glass frames, etc. etc.  
4 *Kobako to*, 小箱等, lacquered boxes.  
5 *Aogai zaiku*, 青貝細工, lacquered articles with mother of pearl incrustations.  
6 *Butsugu*, 佛具, articles of religion pertaining to buddhism.  
7 *Makiye kami bunkoto*, 蒔繪紙文庫等, lacquered paper-boxes.  
8 *Lacquered articles* such as cigar cases, card cases, etc. etc.  
9 *Nourido to*, 塗戸等, lacquered doors for cabinets.

**Articles for dying, lacquering, painting, etc. etc.** (Columns 74 and 75).

- 1 *Idama oyobi ha*, 藍玉及葉, indigo balls and leaves.  
2 *Karias*, カリヤス, a sort of dye made of sedge.  
3 *Benishiru*, 紅汁, the juice of *beni* from which a dark red paint is made.  
4 *Umme shiru*, 梅汁, the juice of the plum which gives a pink colour.

- 5 *Benibai*, 紅灰, the ashes of the beni, a plant.
- 6 *Izomebai*, 藍染灰, a blue dye.
- 7 *Miscellaneous plants*, used in the manufacture of dyes.
- 8 *Shu*, 朱, the cinnabar.
- 9 *Airo*, 藍蠟, a blue dye.
- 10 *Roksho*, 緣生, vert-de-gris.
- 11 *Sumiko*, 炭粉, charcoal dust, used in dying.
- 12 *Shoyen*, シ オ エ ヲ, a material giving a pink colour.
- 13 *Urushi*, 漆, a varnish.
- 14 *Nikawa*, 膠, a glue.—*Matsuyani*, 松膠, turpentine.
- 15 *Shibu*, 澁, the sap of several trees, which when mixed forms a material which is used in the manufacture of waterproof paper and it enters into the composition of a brown paint which is said to preserve wood from decay.
- 16 *Gobaishi*, 五倍子, the gallnut.
- 17 *Ukon*, 饗金, a material from which a yellow dye is made.
- 18 *Suru sumi*, 摺墨, a dye.
- 19 *Tonoko*, 砥之粉, whetstone powder used for polishing.
- 20 *Kohaku*, 琥珀, amber.
- 21 *Benigara*, 紅殻, a dye of a light red colour, being the refuse from the manufacture of *benishiru* (see No. 3).
- 22 *Sundry ashes*, 雜灰.
- 23 *Shoen*, 松烟, a sort of lamp-black formed by the condensation of the smoke of burning pine tree.
- 24 *Fushi*, フ シ, a material for fixing colours.
- 25 *Mochi*, モ チ, bird-lime.

**Articles made of Skins, Leather, Feathers  
and Horns** (Columns 77 and 78).

- 1 *Ushi oyobi umma no kawa*, 牛馬皮, articles made of horse or ox skins.



- 2 *Ushi oyobi umma no kaku*, 牛馬革, horse and ox leathers.
- 3 *Tanoki, kitsune, sika, kouma, inu shishi, neko, usangi, mujina oyobi ten no kawa*, 狸, 狐, 鹿, 熊, 野豬, 貓, 兔貉, 及 七 貉 之 皮, skins of the badger (2 varieties), fox, deer, dog, bear, wild pig, cat, rabbit and martin.
- 4 *Leather made of skins enumerated in No. 3.*
- 5 *Hane*, 羽, varieties of feathers.
- 6 *Studjinoke*, 羊毛, wool.
- 7 *Bouta oyobi studjinokawa*, 家猪及羊皮, the pig and goat skins.
- 8 *A leather made of skins enumerated in No. 7.*
- 9 *Ox and deer horn*, also horse hoofs; the latter are used in the manufacture of *bazu*, an imitation of turtle shell from which hair ornaments used by japanese women, are made.
- 10 *Otose oyobi azarashi no kawa*, 水豹皮, the seal and otter skins.
- 11 *Miscellaneous leathers made of the skins of different animals, such as the monkey, wolf, etc., etc.*
- 12 *The hair of various animals, such as the badger, rabbit, bear and goat.*
- 13 *The skins of various animals, such as the shark, rat, mole, etc.*

**Machinery (Column 80)\*.**

- 1 *Merias kikai*, 目利安器械, knitting machines.
- 2 *Jin riki sha*, 人力車, a light two wheeled vehicle drawn by a man, used as a substitute for a carriage (literally, man, power carriage).

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\*The kinds of machinery not given in column 80 of the table inserted opposite to page 293, are hereunder designated by numbers that guide to corresponding numbers in the list above

- 3 *Niguruma*, 荷車, carts.  
4 *Teppoes*, 銃炮, guns and muskets.  
5 *Nogu*, 農具, agricultural implements (old style).  
6 *Basha*, 馬車, carriages.  
7 *Catana*, 刀, *congatana*, 小刀, *hasami*, 鋏, *oyobi kirimono*, 及 諸切物, swords, knives, scissors and other edge tools.

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opposite to which are to be found the names of said species for each fu and ken.

FUS.—Tokio 1 to 11. 14. 19. 23. Kioto 2. 3. 5. 9 to 22. Osaka 2. 3. 9. 10. 11. 13. 16. 18. 21. 23. 24.

KENS.—Kanagawa 2 to 5. 8. 9. 18. Hiogo 2. 3. 5. 9. 18. 23. Nagasaki 5. 8. 9. 10. 18. Niigata 2. 3. 5. 8. 9. 10. 16. 19. 23. Saitama 2. 3. 8. 9. 12. 13. 18. Asigara 2. 5. 10. 18. Chiba 2. 3. 5. 8. 14. 18. Nii-haru 5. 12. 18. 23. Ibaraki 2. 3. 5. 9. 10. 23. Iumagai 2. 3. 5. 8. 10. 18. Tochigi 2. 5. 9. 19. 22. Nara 2. 3. 5. 10. 13. 18. Sakai 2. 3. 4. 5. 10. 18. Miyé 2. 3. 5. 9. 10. 12. 18. Watarai 2. 3. 5. 6. 18. Aichi 2. 3. 5. 8. 9. 18. 19. Hamamatsu 2. 3. 5. 9. 10. 18. 23. Sizoo-oka 2. 3. 5. 6. 10. 12. 14. 18. Yamanashi 5. 8. 10. 12. 14. Shiga 3. 4. 5. 9. 14. 18. Gifu 2. 3. 5. 9. 12. 14. 18. 23. Chikuma 5. 8. 10. 13. 18. 19. 22. Nagano 5. 7. 8. 9. 10. Miyaki 2. 3. 7. 9. 14. 18. Fukushima 5. 9. Iwanayé 5. 8. 10. Wakamatz 5. 9. 18. 19. 22. Iwai 3. 5. 9. 10. Iwaté 2. 3. 5. 8. 10. Awamori 3. 5. 10. 22. Yamagata 3. 5. 8. 9. 10. 12. Okitama 2. 3. 5. 8. 10. 12. Sakata 5. Okita 2. 5. 7. 9. 10. 12. 18. Tzruga 2. 3. 5. 8. 9. 10. 18. Ishikawa 2. 3. 7. 9. 10. 18. 22. Nikawa 2. 3. 5. 8. 9. 10. 18. Aikawa 5. 10. 12. 22. Toyo-oka 5. 9. 10. 13. 18. 25. Tottori 5. 9. 10. 12. 18. Shimané 3. 5. 7. 8. 10. 19. 22. Hamada 5. 10. 18. 22. 23. Shikama 2. 3. 5. 7. 9. 10. 18. 19. 22. Yamaguchi 2. 3. 5. 9. 10. 18. Wakayama 2. 3. 5. 9. Mito 2. 3. 5. 10. 22. 23. Yéhimé 3. 5. 10. 18. 25. Kochi 5. 10. 12. Fukuoka 2. 3. 5. 9. 10. Mitzma 5. 9. 10. 13. 19. Kokura 5. 8. 12. 19. Oita 2. 5. 9. 10. 19. 22. Saga 2. 3. 5. 10. Shirakawa 5. 8. 9. Miyasaki 2. 5. 7. 8. 12. 25. Hoyio 2. 5. 8. 10. 14. 18. 21. 23. 25. Okayama 2. 3. 5. 13. Hiroshima 2. 3. 5. 8. 10. 12 to 14. 22. Oda 5. 9. 10. 23. Kagoshima . . .

- 8 *Daiku dogu*, 大工道具, carpenters tools.
- 9 *Daidokoro doku*, 臺所具道, kitchen utensils.
- 10 *Hari, kugi, jomai, yaki-in, tsuribari, kwan*, 針, 釘, 錠, 燒印, 針鈞, 環, needles, pins, locks and keys, fishing rods, branding irons, iron curtain rings, etc.
- 11 *Tobacco kiri*, 烟草切, tobacco cutters.
- 12 *Kome tsuki kikai*, 精米具, rice cleaning machines.
- 13 *Shomidzu guruma*, 諸水車, various pumps and water elevators, also machinery made of wood for water power.
- 14 *Soroban to*, 算盤等, all sorts of instruments for calculating or measuring, as for instance, abacus and scales, etc.
- 15 *Drawing, surveying also nautical instruments* (old and new styles).
- 16 *Surgical instruments* (old and new styles).
- 17 *Kinouri kikai*, 絹織器械, a silk weaving machine.
- 18 *Ito kuri oyobi watakuri kikai*, 糸操綿操器械, silk reeling and cotton cleaning machines (old and new styles).
- 19 *Pumps* (old and new styles).
- 20 *Beni shibori dogu*, 紅絞道具, saffron pressing machine.
- 21 *Sake tsukuri dogu*, 酒造道具, an apparatus for making sake.
- 22 *Miscellaneous machines*, such as rope making machines, mortars, blacks mith tools, bellows etc. etc.
- 23 *Funangu*, 船具, articles used on board ships (old and new styles).
- 24 *Oil pressing machines*. In Japan these machines are generally worked by prisoners; and they are used in the *Tsukudajima* prison, Tokio, where a large quantity of oil is manufactured.
- 25 *Cotton weaving machines*.



## Silk and Cotton manufactures.—

### Silk cloth (Columns 91 and 92).

- 1 *Nishiki*, 錦, brocade.
- 2 *Onna obiji hinu*, 女帶絹, a rich silk more especially used for *Obi* which is a sort of band with which Japanese women gird their loins. When the silk stuff that is used for this purpose is enriched with figures, flowers, foliage and other ornaments, it is called *dunsu*, 純子.
- 3 Various silks such as *habutai* 羽二重, a sort of plain soft silk, and *riumon* 龍門, which, although a little thicker, resembles *habutai*.
- 4 *Birodo*, 天鵝絨, silk velvet.
- 5 *Irokinu*, 色絹, colored silk stuffs either plain or enriched with figures.
- 6 *Chirimen*, 縮面, crapes, *ro* 紹, a kind of gauze.—*Chijimi*, 縮布, corrugated silk cloth.
- 7 *Irochirimen*, 色縮面, a colored crape.
- 8 *Shibori*, 絞, a silk stuff first gauffered, embossed, crimped or figured and afterwards dyed.
- 9 *Ayaori*, 綾織, damask.—*Rinzu*, 綸子, a satin adorned with figures.—*Sha*, 紗, silk gauze.
- 10 *Tsumugi*, 紬, pongee.—*Araji kinu*, 荒地絹 a stuff made of silk refuse.
- 11 Miscellaneous plain silks, like *kiginu*, 生絹. *Shikeginu*, シケ絹.—*Shiode*, 鹽出.—*Noshime*, 摩目.
- 12 *Hachijo ori*, 八丈織, a rich thick silk material made by women in the island of *Hachijo* (*Izu*).—*Shusu*, 縞子, satin.

### Threads, ready made articles and silk woven with various materials (Col. 93 & 94).

- 1 *Silk fabrics* for covering furniture; also used for curtains, table cloths etc. etc.

- 2 *Silk threads and ribbons.*
- 3 *Various cloths made of a mixture of silk and cotton.*
- 4 *Silk thread made of very inferior material (kusu ito 屑糸).*
- 5 *Haneri oyobi hangake, 半襟及ヒ半掛, a silk stuff used for ornamental appendages to women's garments or in making head-dresses for young girls.*
- 6 *Kampuku oyobi Koromo, 官服及法衣, silk manufactures for court dresses (old style), also for priest's ceremonial garments.*
- 7 *Kingchaku, 巾着, small bags in which children and old women carry relics or pieces of money used as charms. Kaichumono, 懷中物, pocket dressing cases of the size of our pocket books in which women carry papers and articles of toilet, such as rouge (bēni), looking-glass, scissors, razor, inkstand, writing brush etc., etc.— Tobacco ire, 煙草入, tobacco pouch, etc., etc.*
- 8 *Otoko obi, 男帶, narrow band worn by men around the waist. — Hakama, 袴, a species of very wide trousers worn by the men of the higher classes. — Haori, 羽織, outside jacket worn by men.*
- 9 *Miscellaneous silk patterns for various purposes, for instance the silk used for covering umbrellas of foreign style, cords for fastening japanese shoes to the foot; silk trimmings.*
- 10 *Butsugu, 佛具, articles of religion made of silk.*
- 11 *Kinginhakou ito, 箔糸, gold and silver cords mixed with silk.*

**Cotton cloth** (Columns 95 and 96).

- 1 *Kokura ori, 小倉帶, a strong and closely woven cotton cloth either striped or plain and used for Hakama.*
- 2 *Shiro momen, 白木綿, a white cotton cloth.*

- 3 *Some momen oyobi shibori momen*, 染木綿及絞  
a colored cotton cloth woven like *shibori* (see No. 8, SILK  
CLOTH, page 322 ).
- 4 *Homomen*, 帆木綿, cotton canvas.
- 5 *Unsai*, 雲齊, a kind of thick cotton cloth used for  
making stockings. — *Mompa*, 紋巴, a sort of cotton  
flannel.
- 6 *Miscellaneous cotton cloths*, such as *chimamomen*, 綿  
不綿, a kind of striped fabric.
- 7 *Moji*, モシ, a cotton gauze used for making mus-  
quito nets.

**Silk and cotton manufactures, cotton and  
hemp fabrics, miscellaneous wovengoods  
and ready made articles.**

(Columns 97 and 98).

- 1 *Wata*, 綿 cotton.
- 2 *Asa oyobi asafu*, 麻及ヒ麻布, hemp and hemp  
cloths.
- 3 *Momen ito*, 木綿糸, cotton thread.
- 4 *Asa ito*, 麻糸, hemp thread.
- 5 *Tabi*, 足袋, socks, *Tenogoi*, 手掛, cotton hand-  
kerchiefs.
- 6 *Asa kami shimo*, 麻上下, old styles of dress used  
at marriage and funeral ceremonies and made of either  
hemp or cotton. *Hanten momohikito*, 半天等引股,  
jackets and tight trousers used by workmen and worn  
by gentlemen when travelling.
- 7 *Zukin*, 頭巾, a sort of pocket handkerchief used by  
people for covering the head in cold or windy weather.--  
*Merias momo-hiki*, 目利安股引, knit drawers.
- 8 *Kokura obi oyobi hanao*, 小倉帶及鼻緒, a belt  
made of *kokura* (see No. 1).—*Anao*, 鼻緒, a cotton  
cord for fastening native shoes to the foot.
- 9 *Furoshiki*, 風呂敷, a kind of pocket handkerchief used



to wrap up clothes in.—*Sanada*, 真田緒, ribbons or strings made of cotton.

- 10 *Kaya*, 蚊帳, mosquito nets.
- 11 *Miscellaneous articles* made of cotton such as *maikake*, 前利, a cotton apron worn by women.—*Kokake*, 甲掛, leggings.—*Nokabukuro*, 糖袋, small cotton bags.
- 12 *Shifu*, 紙布, paper and cotton threads woven together into cloth. The paper thread used in the manufacture of this kind of cloth, is made of waste paper; sometimes silk is substituted for cotton in the manufacture of this cloth, in which case it is called *Shifuchijimi* and it is woven in stripes, one being made of silk and the other of paper, and alternating with each other. The latter combination presents a very pretty appearance and it is used by Japanese ladies for summer garments.—*Fujifu*, 藤布, a fabric in which cotton and *fuji*, 藤, (*wisteria chinensis*), are mixed.—*Kusufu*, 葛布, a very cheap cloth made of cotton and *kusu* mixed. The *kusu* is a plant about four feet high growing in the mountainous districts of Japan.—*Asa men maze fu*, literally hemp cotton mixture stuff, 麻綿交布, a mixture of hemp and cotton.
- 13 *Toito-ori*, 唐糸織, a stuff woven with imported cotton yarn.

## Mines and quarries.—Other metals

(Columns 104 and 105).

- 1 *Sinchiu*, 真鎔, an alloy resembling brass.
- 2 *Namari*, 鉛, lead.
- 3 *Mabukido*, 間吹銅, an alloy.
- 4 *Suigin*, 水銀, mercury.
- 5 *Antimony*, アンチモニー, antimony.
- 6 *Suzu*, 錫, tin.
- 7 *Cobalt*, コーバルト, cobalt.

**Marbles, building material etc. (Col. 109-110).**

- 1 *Hachi ishi*, 蜂石.
- 2 *Furuya ishi*, 古谷石.
- 3 *Kemokuseki*, 珪目石.
- 4 *Chikura ishi*, 千倉石.
- 5 *Akasaka ishi*, 赤坂石.
- 6 *Irome ishi*, 色見石.
- 7 *Konoha ishi*, 木葉石.
- 8 *Midzubashiri ishi*, 水奔石
- 9 *Ma ishi*, 眞石.
- 10 *Nobe ishi*, 延石.
- 11 *Ningiyoseki*, 人形石.
- 12 *Shoniuseki*, 生乳石.
- 13 *Suzu ishi*, 鈴石.
- 14 *Goshiki ishi*, 五色石.
- 15 *Hamaguri ishi*, 蛤石.
- 16 *Shirakawa ishi*, 白川石.
- 17 *Niva ishi*, 庭石.
- 18 *Ita ishi*, 板石.
- 19 *Kuri ishi*, 栗石.
- 20 *Ishibai ishi*, 石灰石.
- 21 *Iwaishi*, 岩石, a rock of igneous origin occurring largely in places adjacent to the sea.
- 22 *Keiseki*, 珪石, a kind of trachyte.
- 23 *Kenchiku ishi*, 建築石, is the term applied indiscriminately to several kinds of rocks that can be made use of for building purposes.
- 24 *Kiri ishi*, 切石, a stone used for building purposes.
- 25 *Kai ishi*, 貝石, rocks containing fossil shells.
- 26 *Mikage ishi*, 御影石, granit.
- 27 *Nada ishi*, 灘石, a rock found on the shore of the sea.

Nos. 1 to 20 are the names by which certain rocks, enumerated in the *Nai-Mu-Sho's* list, are usually known in the locality in which they are found. Nothing is said in the list about the composition and characteristics of these rocks.

- 28 *Roseki*, 巖石, a marble.
- 29 *Kansuiseki*, 塞水石, a white marble.
- 30 *Sarasa ishi*, 斑石, a marble.
- 31 *Shira ishi*, 白石, a white marble that could be extensively used for ornamental purposes.
- 32 *Shiki ishi*, 敷石, a flagstone used for pavement.
- 33 *Tate ishi*, 堅石, a stone which is of great and extensive use in the construction of buildings of all kinds, for walls, arches and the like.
- 34 *Rikusei ishi*, 綠青石, is the name given to an earthy rock void of shaly lamination; probably consolidated volcanic mud.
- 35 *Ummo*, 雲母, mica.
- 36 *Wari ishi*, 割石, a stone which is made use of in the construction of buildings of all kinds.
- 37 *Yake ishi*, 燒石, a volcanic rock.
- 38 *Aoi ishi*, 青石, is the name given to an earthy green rock; like rikusei-ishi probably consolidated volcanic mud.

### Other products from mines or quarries

(Columns 111 and 112).

- 1 *Hakuto*, 白砥, a white whetstone.
- 2 *Toishi*, 砥石, a whetstone.
- 3 *Hiuchi ishi*, 燧石, flint.
- 4 *Uki ishi*, 浮石, pumice stone.
- 5 *Jari ishi*, 砂利石, is the term applied to water-worn fragments of rocks, when the pebbles are of the size of a hen's egg, or about.
- 6 *Kawa ishi*, 川石, is the term for water-worn rock-fragments larger and less rounded than those of gravel. These rocks are found in river-beds.
- 7 *Namera ishi*, 滑石, a smooth stone.



- 8 *Suzuri ishi*, 硯石, is the name of the stone from which japanese inkstands are made.
  - 9 *Saiku ishi*, 細工石, is the name of a stone extensively used in Japan for ornamental purposes.
  - 10 *Onjiaku*, 溫石, a stone that is used by physicians. It is dipped in hot water or exposed to fire, after which it is applied, while it is hot; to a painful part.
  - 11 *Kuaseki*, 化石, petrified wood.
  - 12 *Suisho*, 水晶, rock-crystal.
  - 13 *Shikin ishi*, 紫金石, stone with gold in grains of different sizes, imbedded in it.
  - 14 *Shisen ishi*, 紫線石, similar to *shikin ishi*.
  - 15 *Meno*, 瑪瑙, agate.
  - 16 *Riokuban*, 綠礬, copperas.
  - 17 *Tanpan* 丹礬, sulphate of copper.
  - 18 *Miyoban*, 明礬, alum.
  - 19 *Iwo*, 硫黃, sulphur.
  - 20 *Irotsuchi*, 色土, a variegated kind of clay.
  - 21 *Shirotsuchi*, 白土, a white clay.
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## APPENDIX C.

Page 244, note 27:—«After farming implements in use among western nations, have been substituted for those now in use in the country, this figure would be raised.» In order to form an idea of what this figure might be under the circumstances under consideration, I will suppose that a majorat covering an area of 1,950 cho of arable land and 228.91 cho of pastures, is to be established and that it will require to work it, one able bodied man for each 2.515 cho, or  $6 \frac{189415}{4000000}$  English acres of arable land. I will suppose the land to be wild. In calculating what it would cost to reclaim it I have not only to ascertain what the first cost of the land, the expense of breaking it up and of plowing and planting it would be to a farmer already on the spot, but, besides, what it would cost to survey and select this tract of land, bring on it the men who will cultivate it (assuming that they will have to be transported from strange places to the field of their new labors), provide them with the necessary shelter, and, while the land is unproductive, give them the necessary food, and furnish them with farming instruments and stock. This I have tried to establish in the table hereto annexed, computed with the greatest care from information procured from various sources both native and foreign. In it all the items mentioned and the figures given are for 1,950 cho. From this table it will appear that the first cost of a domain covering 1,950 cho of arable land would be 28,801.50

yen<sup>1</sup>. To it 228.91 cho of pastures may be added at a cost of 3,381 yen. This domain could be stocked, provided with all necessary agricultural implements, houses for laborers, and generally improved under competent supervision at the rate of 82 yen per cho, including  $3.12\frac{1}{2}$  yen per cho for incidental expenses<sup>2</sup>. After this land had been thus improved, that is to say, after one year from the time of first breaking ground, it is calculated that the grain and stock raised on the same would suffice to cover all further expenses of putting it into thoroughly producing shape, that is, planting shrubs or plants such as tea, indigo and mulberry and doing other required work. After five years it would be in full producing shape.

It is next to impossible to calculate what the net produce of such a domain would be. However, the following may be said: Supposing, for the sake of convenience, that under the more favorable circumstances as brought about by the introduction of foreign methods, the Japanese farmer would produce 54.81 yen<sup>3</sup> per annum and per cho, instead of 44.20 yen<sup>4</sup> which he produces at present, while the average value of the land in Japan would remain what it is now, that is 379.17 yen per cho, then the gross produce of the domain would be 14.455257534 per cent of this value.

Now, knowing that the cost of tilling the ground by both the old and new systems, are respectively,  $1\frac{3}{4}$

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<sup>1</sup> See note 7, page 217.

<sup>2</sup> Obtained by subtracting 32,182.23, item No. 1 of the table inserted opposite to page 329, from 192,082.50, total at the foot of the same table, and dividing the difference by 1,950, the number of cho of arable lands contained in the domain.

<sup>3</sup> The average produce of one cho of land in America, see pages 225, 226 and 227.

<sup>4</sup> See pages 226 and 227.

sen and  $\frac{2}{3}$  of a sen<sup>5</sup>, and that the cost of production by the old system is 2.65 per cent of the value of the land<sup>6</sup>, the percentage of the cost of production, by the new method, to the value of the land, may be fixed at 1.0095. Now reckoning that the taxation of the land would be what it was in France twenty five years ago, or 15 per cent of the gross produce<sup>7</sup>, which is 2.168 per cent of the value of the land, the net produce will be found to be 41.27775753 per cent of the value of the land while with a taxation of 3% of the value of the land, as it was before the reduction of 1875, it would be only 10.44575753 of the value of the land.

Against this and admitting that the skill of both the Japanese and American farmers are equal, we have to take into consideration that the soil in Japan *cannot* produce without manure, while in the United States it *can*. And this would tend to increase the cost of production and correspondingly reduce the net product. I do not think that the difference in the facilities of transportation have to be taken into consideration ; for if we suppose that the interior resources of this empire are to be developed, we must suppose also that the communications will be improved<sup>8</sup>. One cannot go without the other. And when there shall be suitable carriage roads in Japan the transportation of the product of the soil will cost less to the husbandman than it does to his American confrère at this date, the distances from the places of production to the places of consumption or shipment in Japan, being considerably less than they generally are in the United

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<sup>5</sup> See note 8, page 217.

<sup>6</sup> See pages 217 and 218.

<sup>7</sup> See note 16, page 228.

<sup>8</sup> See Appendix D.



States. This circumstance, we see, would tend to increase the value of the net product of the soil in Japan. As regards other circumstances I should say that Japan and the United States are on a par. For if Japan is considerably inferior to the United States as regards the growing of cotton, she certainly can boast of having by way of compensation, tea, silk, wax, vegetable oil, varnishes and porcelain clay<sup>o</sup> which the United States have not, and from which she can expect as much, in proportion, as the United States make out from their great southern staple.

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<sup>o</sup> See table inserted opposite to page 293, Appendix B.



## APPENDIX D.

Page 216 : \* \* \* « Thus in Japan the average produce of each individual farmer has a value of only about 11 yen, 49 sen per annum, while in America, the average is \$137,35 per each individual. »

If the Japanese farmer obtained as much for the product of his labor as his American confrère gets for his, this figure 11 yen 49 sen would soon considerably rise. As it is he receives much less. For instance while in December 1877, wheat and barley were sold in San Francisco at rates ranging from \$2.27 to \$2.33 for the first, and \$1.35 to 1.50 per 100lbs. for the second, wheat could be bought in Yokohama for \$1 and barley for 90 cents per 100lbs. ; and these rates seldom vary at the latter port unless the crops are bad.

Some persons have advanced the opinion that to change this state of affairs in Japan, it would suffice to improve the means of communications in use in the country for the transportation of the product of labor. To our vision this is a mistake. What makes the rates of grains generally higher in San Francisco than in Yokohama is that the demand for the same is greater in the former than it is in the latter port. But what has created this demand is not the superior system of interior communications that exists in California, but the industry of the people who, by producing these commodities more than they need and

producing them cheaper than is done elsewhere, and by making them of easy access to the consumers, have attracted the latter to their shores. And the demand for these commodities will continue as long as these circumstances will prevail. In this the roads are merely one of the means through which the force by which is created the demand that exists for grains in San Francisco, operates. But they are not the force itself nor its source. Let the American lose his enterprise and, although he may retain his railroads, he will not get more for his wheat than his Japanese confrère gets for it to day in Yokohama. Now let him become industrious again; and although, through his past neglect, his railroads may have fallen into ruins and his fields have become waste, not only will he soon produce a surplus of wheat, but, besides, get his railroads again in order, and get for this product of his labor the same remunerative rates.

So long as the Japanese do not awake from their present torpor<sup>1</sup> the rates of their staple commodities will not rise; and it would be idle to hope, by any artificial

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<sup>1</sup> Practical evidence of the want of enterprise among the Japanese can be best furnished by a review of their silk trade since 1858. From that year to 1864 the average yearly export of silk from Japan has been 16,200 bales. From 1865 to 1875 it did not exceed 13,500 bales. This reduction, however, must not be attributed to the trade in silkworm eggs; for if the cocoons made use of for the production of eggs had been spun, silk exportation would not have increased more than 700 or 800 cattles per annum. Inasmuch as the price of silk has comparatively risen from 1859 to 1875 it seems strange, at first sight, that the production has not increased. For in what regards the cultivation of mulberry tree, the raising of silk worms, the production of eggs and cocoon spinning, certain districts of Japan can already compete with both France and Italy. In order to create in a few years, a source of prosperity from the manufacture of silk, Japan



contrivances, to ensure the people blessings which their own character has not earned. It was to a normal and regular action and not to any expedient that was owing the rapid advance in prosperity of some of the nations of the West and of America during the last three decades ; of France, for instance, where, in twenty years, from 1848 to 1874, the wealth of the people was increased seven fold. As it was, in 1848, the French being already experienced in trade and skilfull in manufactures, and the productions of their country being known throughout the world, they had, to increase their wealth, merely to increase both the producing capacities of those industries that had been founded exclusively for the supply of local wants, and the instruments of intercourse for the transportation of their products to distant markets. And, thus,

had, therefore, nothing to borrow from without. It was merely necessary to extend the industry already existing. And to this increase the climatic circumstances of nearly all the kens and even of Yesso were favorable. The increase in the production was rendered still more advisable by the necessity that had become apparent to protect the home manufactures from foreign competition. Although Japan had nothing to apprehend with regard to this from either the United States or Australia where, for a long time to come all attempts at introducing the production of silk on a large scale must fail owing to the high price of labor, still she is threatened by both China and Europe. I am aware that in China the process of fabrication of silk has not improved and, in many respects, the silk produced there is inferior to the Japanese article. But China can export 80,000 bales, and foreign manufacturers prefer Chinese to Japanese silk, because the former is available in larger quantities. This would prove that the commercial value of this product depends not only upon its quality, but upon its quantity besides. From Europe the danger is not less imminent. What created unusual demand for Japanese silk at the time the Empire was opened to foreign trade, was a series of circumstances that have ceased to exist and the many

the increase of their wealth, within the period named, as may be shown by the table hereunder given, was in direct ratio with the number of kilomètres of railroad completed.

| YEARS.    | NUMBER<br>of kilomètres of Railroads<br>completed. | VALUE<br>of<br>foreign trade in France. |
|-----------|--|---|
| 1849..... | 2,861.....   | 1,662,000,000.                          |
| 1854..... | 4,660.....   | 2,702,000,000.                          |
| 1859..... | 9,084.....   | 3,907,000,000.                          |
| 1864..... | 13,038.....  | 5,452,000,000.                          |
| 1869..... | 16,973.....  | 6,228,000,000.                          |
| 1874..... | 19,110.....  | 7,342,000,000.                          |

But if the French had not been so advanced, the creation of this vast railroad system would have been attended

opportunities for large profits which, then, silk manufacturers had offered to them in the west. In 1858 the production of silk in Europe had decreased under the influence of a disease from which all the species of worms had successively suffered. The silk producing districts in China were desolated by the Taeping rebellion. The sources of supply of this much appreciated produce having decreased without any diminution in the demand for it, prices rapidly rose. From \$372 per picul which it was in 1859, it gradually rose from year to year till, in 1868, it attained \$880. In 1865 the Japanese Government having allowed the exportation of silkworm eggs, and the disease from which the worms had suffered in Europe having gradually disappeared, and peace and order having been reestablished in China, the production of silk in those countries, rapidly increased and the price of Japanese silk progressively sank. In 1874 it fell to \$500, and cartoons that had been sold for \$4 did not fetch more than \$0.35. Unless the causes owing to which the exportation of cartoons made temporarily so prosperous, obtain again, we can easily foresee the day when the exportation of silkworm eggs will soon entirely

with quite different results. For, in that case, the expense of creating national means of intercourse for the transportation of the product of labor disproportionate to the national productive power, not being covered by a corresponding increase of the benefits derived from trade, the nation would soon have been exhausted by an ever increasing burden. And that is what would happen to interior communications in Japan or any of the other powerful levers which enterprising nations make use of in the production of wealth<sup>2</sup> that would be dispropor-

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stop ; and unless both the quantities of raw silk produced are greatly increased and the process of manufacture of the woven article improves, both Europe and America will offer to the Japanese silk producer but very limited markets. (See *Mémoire sur les soies du Japon*, Yokohama, 24 novembre 1875, par E. Piquet).

<sup>2</sup> I can easily understand that a few of the native producers and consumers would be largely benefited by the sudden increase of the means of communications in Japan ; but the public at large would be far from profiting by it. For instance trees that now are mostly allowed to go to decay, standing in the forests of the interior, would be cut down in due season and in proper shape, and thus gain an export value which they have not now. And both the mountaineer who would grow richer as fast as he could dispose of the products of his forests, and the inhabitants of the towns whose income would grow larger as the price of timber would fall owing to the increase in the supply of it, would be largely benefited. Again the farmer who already makes a good profit on tea or silk, for instance, would get more for these commodities if he could transport them by carts or by rails instead of by pack horses, the increase being equal to the reduction obtained in the cost of transportation by the substitution of one kind of transport for the other. Yet in all this, the commonwealth that would have undertaken the building of the roads would not get its share ; for, in the present state of Japanese character, it could not be expected that the few that would



tionate to her actual requirements, were they given to her people before the latter had become capable of turning them to good use.

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be benefited by the making of the roads, would increase their production sufficiently to give the roads the traffic productive of an increase in the public wealth, from which the necessary compensation for the great outlay in making the roads and keeping the same in repairs, must be derived before we can say that the introduction of an improved system of communications in Japan would be profitable. The interest alone on the capital invested in the roads would absorb tenfold the benefit accruing to the nation from the increase in its wealth as brought about by the making of the roads. So we see the only way to benefit Japan by the making of new roads would be to be satisfied with improving the old system of interior communications and increasing its present capacity *as the changes may be justified by the present circumstances of certain districts and by the gradual progress of the people in both enterprise and knowledge.*



## APPENDIX E.

Page 32, note :

“*First.*—In ascertaining the national wishes and establishing laws and regulations the Imperial oath is adopted as a guide.”

The following is the text of the Oath :

### 政體

|   |   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 一 | 一 | 一 | 一 | 一 | 一 |
| 智 | 舊 | テ | 官 | 上 | 廣 |
| 識 | 來 | 倦 | 武 | 下 | ク |
| ヲ | ノ | マ | 一 | 心 | 會 |
| 世 | 陋 | サ | 途 | ヲ | 議 |
| 界 | 習 | ラ | 庶 | 一 | ヲ |
| ニ | ヲ | シ | 民 | ニ | 興 |
| 求 | 破 | メ | ニ | シ | シ |
| メ | リ | ン | 至 | テ | 萬 |
| 大 | 天 | ト | ル | 盛 | 機 |
| ニ | 地 | ヲ | 迄 | ニ | 公 |
|   | ノ | 要 | 各 | 經 | 論 |
|   | 公 | ス | 其 | 綸 | ニ |
|   | 道 |   | 志 | ヲ | 決 |
|   | ニ |   | ヲ | 行 | ス |
|   | 基 |   | 遂 | フ | ヘ |
|   | ク |   | ケ | ヘ | シ |
|   | ヘ |   | 人 | 心 |   |
|   | シ |   | ヲ | シ |   |
| 皇 |   |   |   |   |   |
| 基 |   |   |   |   |   |
| ヲ |   |   |   |   |   |
| 振 |   |   |   |   |   |
| 起 |   |   |   |   |   |

## APPENDIX F.

Pages 250 and 251: «Not only the graduates of the government technical schools in Japan have, as I have said, none of the practical experience that is so essential, but, besides, the training received by them in establishments in which everything is done, to say the least, with reckless prodigality, without any thought being ever given to economy or profit, would leave them without other most essential requisites for the fulfillment of their trust. »

We may form a fair idea of what this prodigality may be in some instances, by a reference to what has taken place at the Shimosa sheep farm, an institution to which I have already alluded in note 7, page 251. The brief outline of the history of the farm which we give hereunder, was published in the *Tokio Times* of March 30, 1878; and it is founded on facts which, it would appear from the declaration of my estimable friend, Mr. E. H. House, the editor of that paper, were obtained from reliable sources entirely independent of Mr. Jones, the manager of the farm. Mr. House's well known strong feelings for the Japanese Government give a real weight to his narrative.

«To found such an institution (as the Shimosa sheep farm) had been the wish of influential members of this Government almost from the dawn of the restoration in the



eastern capital — certainly long before any of the foreign assistants afterward connected with it had come to Japan. At different times various plans of proceeding were submitted to the Ministry, some by western representatives, and one, in particular, by Mr. Bingham, the United States envoy. The most practical of all, and we have always been convinced, the most advantageous for this empire, was a later scheme, by which the coöperation of large capitalists in California was to be secured and the Japanese authorities to be relieved from all pecuniary risks. Science, experience and abundant funds would have been brought into requisition, and in the event of failure — always a possible contingency in those days — this country would have sustained no loss. This project was offered, but was rejected, in consequence of the traditional reluctance of the rulers to depart from their principle of excluding foreigners from business pursuits in the interior so long as they remained independent of the national jurisdiction. Other plans, however, were discussed, and a modified form of the first proposition was finally adopted. Its terms were certainly better, as far as Mr. Ap. Jones was concerned, than those suggested by himself, inasmuch as they wholly removed the burden of financial responsibility from him. After due exploration, the site of the farm was fixed in the present locality, and the enterprise was put into gradual operation during the autumn and winter of 1875. No important practical farm work was done, however until late in the following spring. Meanwhile a remarkable feature of the establishment was introduced through the energy and skill of the second foreign attaché, Dr. H. Latham, who succeeded, in spite of considerable native incredulity and discouragement at the outset, in teaching laborers and mechanics the construction of almost all the implements required

for agricultural purposes—the result being to render extensive importations of these articles superfluous.

While this and other industries were in progress, and on subsequent occasions in the course of 1876, Mr. Ap. Jones was in China and America, superintending the purchase of sheep, and in his absence the head of the Japanese staff assumed the directorship. Then occurred an episode which Mr. Ap. Jones has not touched upon in his letter, doubtless because no call was made for it in the antagonistic paragraph of the *Mail*. Possibly, also, he would not consider it within the line of his duty to disclose details which he may not be aware are known to some persons outside of the body concerned in the farm administration. Such considerations need not, and do not, weigh with us, and we are conscious of no reason for withholding any of the information which circumstances have placed within our reach. The true design, from the beginning, had been to make the business a ‘paying’ one; but under the Japanese guidance, serious deviations from this purpose were made, and the experiment was given more the air of a ‘fancy’ venture, than an economical and thrifty undertaking. The costly and unremunerative appurtenances of similar enterprises near or in Tokio were imitated, and when Mr. Ap. Jones returned from China he found that in that short interval, expenses had been incurred sufficient to swamp the whole bulk of profit expected—and carefully calculated by estimates to be realized in eight and a half years. Two courses were open to him;—first, to demand an investigation and insist upon a restoration of the whole business to its former footing; second, to waive the open expression of his dissatisfaction and submit to losses which in great part must fall individually upon him. He chose the

latter ; whether wisely or weakly we shall not undertake to say. It is enough to state that he declined to compromise, at that critical period, the success of the whole concern by pushing inquiries to an extremity which might have overthrown the organization. We believe we are correct in declaring that no further reckless extravagances were committed, and that the course of proceedings was reduced to a more practical order. »





## APPENDIX G.

Page 290. "The Chinese lost faith in men who had failed to prove that they were true to their highest ideal. Christianity had been announced to them as a religion of peace and it had brought to them discord. It had been represented as the communion of the humble, etc., etc."

In connection with the above, the following brief account of the circumstances under which the Jesuit François Petriz the first missionary, I believe, who obtained official permission to reside in China, was allowed to teach Christianity in that Empire, may prove interesting :

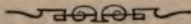
« La même année que le Saint mourut (François Xavier) & au mesme temps qu'il deuint malade dans l'isle de Sanciam, le venerable Père Mathieu Ricci nasquit en Europe par ses prières, comme l'on croit, lequel après entra dans la Chine, & fonda les Eglises qui sont dans les cours du Roy. Auant luy toutesfois le Père François Petriz, par le moyen des Ambassadeurs députez par les marchands de Macao, trouua l'occasion d'aller jusques dans la métropolitaine de Quantum (Canton), où après que les Ambassadeurs eurent proposé les poincts de la négociation, le Père présenta aux Grands de la Chine deux escrits qui contenoient en langue Chinoise ce qui suit :

« *Je suis le docteur qui enseigne la loy du Seigneur du Ciel, et parce que j'ay oüy dire que dans votre Royaume il y a beaucoup de gens scauans, je serais bien aise*

*de conférer avec eux sur les principaux points de ma doctrine : mais parce que moy et mes compagnons avons accoustumé d'offrir à Dieu des sacrifices, lesquels ne peuvent pas bien commodément estre présentez sur la mer, et que d'ailleurs je suis trop vieux pour retourner dans mon pays, je supplie très humblement vos Grandeurs de permettre que je demeure dans vos estats, et offre sur terre mes sacrifices, pour la prospérité de vostre Empereur et de toutes vos illustres personnes.*

« Les Chinois leurent avec grande satisfaction ces requestes, & enuoyèrent au Père une veste de damas cramoisy, de laquelle malgré toutes ses oppositions ils le vestirent, lorsqu'il fut arriué à eux, & l'obligèrent de s'asseoir au milieu d'eux, pour respondre aux interrogations qu'ils luy faisoient sur cette loy qu'il professoit ; ce Père leur fit entendre par l'entremise d'un truchement, qu'il adoroit le seul Createur qui a produit toutes choses, et lequel commande qu'on honore ses parens, qu'on ne tuë point, qu'on ne derobe point, et qu'on ne fasse point d'autres choses de cette nature : de telle sorte, que si l'homme observe ces préceptes, son ame qui est immortelle, iouïra d'une beatitude eternelle dans l'autre vie. Ils tesmoignèrent vne grande ioye en entendant parler de l'immortalité de l'ame, et plusieurs des Mandarins consentaient à la demeure du Père dans la Chine ; mais leur chef s'y opposa alléguant, la loy qui defend sous peine de vie, qu'on ne laisse point entrer aucun estranger dans le Royaume. Ainsi pour responce ils dirent au Père, que pour l'ignorance où il estoit de leur langue, sa demeure en ce pays-là seroit du tout inutile ; mais dès qu'il auroit acquis quelque connoissance de leur langage, il pourroit avec le temps obtenir pour soy & ses compagnons l'entrée dans la Chine. Il fallut donc que ceux de nos Pères qui estoient veus à Macao, les vns s'en allassent au Japon, où

ils moururent glorieusement pour la confession de la foy ; & que les autres, comme le Père Michel Rogier & le Père Mathieu Ricci, duquel j'ay auparavant parlé, s'appliquassent à l'estude de la langue Chinoise, dans laquelle ils n'eurent pas plustost fait quelque progrès, qu'ils s'en allèrent à Quantum en la compagnie des marchands. Ils furent dans cette ville receus par les grands, & surtout par le Viceroy, qui prenoit grand plaisir à leur conuersation, apprenant d'eux beaucoup de curiositez appartenantes à la physique et aux mathématiques. Les Pères demandèrent qu'il leur fust permis de rester dans la Cour, ce qui leur fut libéralement accordé par ce Viceroy, qui leur donna vne maison, au deuant de laquelle il fit mettre cette inscription en lettres d'or : *Icy demeurent les Docteurs du grand Occident, qui enseignent la doctrine du Seigneur du Ciel.* Cela les accredita beaucoup, & porta quantité de personnes à les visiter ». (See *Briefve relation de la Chine et de la notable conversion des personnes Royales de cet Estat, faite par le très R. P. Michel Boym de la Compagnie de Jesus, enuoyé par la Cour de ce Royaume là, en qualité d'Ambassadeur au S. Siège Apostolique, & récitée par luy dans l'Eglise de Smyrne, le 29. Septembre de l'année 1652, page 3.*)





## APPENDIX H.

### JAPANESE WEIGHTS AND MEASURES WITH THEIR ENGLISH EQUIVALENTS.

| MEASURES OF WEIGHT.   |   |
|---|---|
| <i>Japanese measures.</i>                                       | <i>English equivalents.</i>                               |
| MOMME .....   | 0.00822 pounds.   |
| KIN of 160 mommes .....   | 1.315 do.   |
| KUAN of 1000 mommes.....  | 8.223 do.   |
| MEASURES OF CAPACITY FOR VARIOUS PURPOSES.                      |   |
| <i>Japanese measures.</i>                                       | <i>English equivalents.</i>                               |
| SHAKU .....   | 0.0004995 bushel.   |
| Go of ten shakus .....  | 0.004995 do.  |
| SHO of ten gos.....   | 0.04995 do.   |
| To of ten shos.....   | 0.4995 do.  |
| KOKU of ten tos.....  | 4.995 bushels.  |
| MEASURES OF LENGTH.   |   |
| <i>Japanese measures.</i>                                       | <i>English equivalents.</i>                               |
| SUN.....  | 0.1 foot.   |
| SHAKU of ten suns .....   | 1 do.   |
| KEN of six shaku .....  | 6 feet.   |
| CHO of sixty kens .....   | 360 do.   |
| RI of thirty-six chos.....                                      | 13,320 do., or $2\frac{445}{1000}$ miles.                 |
| MEASURES OF SURFACE.  |   |
| <i>Japanese measures.</i>                                       | <i>English equivalents.</i>                               |
| BOO of one square ken.....                                      | 36 square feet.   |
| SE of thirty boos .....   | 1,080 do.   |
| TAN of ten ses.....   | 10,800 do.  |
| CHO of ten tans.....  | 108,000 do., or $2\frac{461}{1000}$ <small>acres.</small> |
| TABLE SHOWING THE RELATIVE VALUE OF JAPANESE AND ENGLISH COINS. |   |
| <i>Japanese coins.</i>  | <i>Value in sterling.</i>                                 |
| SEN .....   | 0.04098 shilling.   |
| YEN of one hundred sens...                                      | 4.098 shillings.  |



## INDEX.

The explanatory and biographical information herein given has been compiled from the following works : The *Mikado's Empire* by W. E. Griffis, New-York, 1876. The *Legacy of Iyeyas*, by John Frederic Lowder, 1874.—*Fuso mimi bukuro*, by C. Pfoundes, 1875. — *Nihongi*, History of Japan.—*Jin-mu Ten-O-ki*, History of Jin-mu Ten-O.—*Great prayers of the Shinto faith*.—*The revival of pure Shinto*, by E. M. Satow, Esq., Japanese Secretary to H. B. M. Legation at Tokio, Yokohama, 1875.

AISHIKAGA.—Ashikawa Yoshimitsu was the grand son of Ashikaga Tokanji the founder of the Ashikaga line of shoguns in whose hands the governing power was centred from 1335 to 1575 A. D. Ashikawa Yoshimitsu was proclaimed shogun when 10 years old. Having distinguished himself greatly as a general, after the union of the Northern and Southern branches of the Imperial family at Kioto, he was elevated to the dignity of Dai-jo Dai-Jin in 1393. He resigned his high office in 1393 and entered into budhist orders. It was in the Ashikaga period that the office of shogun which under the Hojio was filled by appointment from the imperial court, first became hereditary, and that the fashion of wearing two swords, one, the longer, for enemies, and the other for the



purpose of committing *hara-kiri* after defeat in battle, arose (see *Hara-kiri*). The practice of *hara-kiri* commenced to prevail at about the time of the beginning of the domination of the military classes (see *Taira-no-Kiyomori*); but as a judicial punishment, it dates only from the *Tokugawa*.—Page 183.

AKUSAI.—One of the ancient divisions of *Corea*.—Page 196.

AMATSU-HITAHARA-HO-NO-NINIGI-NO-MIKOTO. Son of *Masa-ya-o-katsu-katsu-haya-he-amé-no-ochi-ho-mimi-no-mikoto*, the son of *Ten-Sho Dai-Jin*.—Page 27.

AMA-TERASU-HIRU-ME-NO-MIKOTO.—An other name for *Ten-Sho Dai-Jin*.—Page 88.

AMATSU-HI-TSUGI.—Descendants of the sun; a name given to the generation of the *Mikados*.—Page 88.

ARASAWAKI.—Page 196.

ARA-MITAMA.—Fresh or natural spirit.—Page 29.

ATSUTA-DAI-JIN.—Another name for *Sosano-o-no mikoto*.—Page 28.

ATOYI.—Page 196.

ATSUMA YEBIS.—Literally Eastern boors, the name given by the *Kioto* nobles, to the aboriginal tribes that inhabited the region around that arm of the Eastern sea of Japan, which in modern times, has been called the bay of *Yedo*. It is from the site where the city of *Yedo* was built in 1590, by *Iyeyasu*, at the suggestion of his general *Hideyoshi*, that *Yamato Daké*, the son of *Keiko Ten-O* (71-130 A. D.), marched to conquer the Eastern tribes; but the first permanent military establishment that was made among the *Atsuma Yebis*, dates only from the 15th century when a small fort was built at a place now known by the name of *Koji-machi*, on the rising ground where stands the British legation at *Tokio*.—Page 30.

CHI-HO-KWAN-KUAIGI. — Pages 43, 45, 46, 50, 51, 52, 68, 69, 136.

CHO-SHI. — A class of Imperial officers that was formed of the retainers of territorial nobles and common people, after the Restoration of 1868.—Page 87.

CONFUCIANISM.—A code of moral philosophy according to Confucius, the great Chinese philosopher.—Page 1.

DAI JO KUWAN.—Pages 31, 32, 34, 41, 43, 45, 52, 60, 62, 94, 109, 113, 114.

DAI-JO DAI-JIN.—Pages 31, 35, 46, 157.

DAI-JIN.—Pages 47, 59, 60, 183.

DAIMIO.—Territorial rulers.—Page 38.

DAI-NIPPON-KAIBIYAKU-YURAI-IKI.—A work on Shinto.

See « Authorities quoted », pages VII-IX: 9

DAI SHIN IN.—Pages 43, 44, 69, 105, 121, 151, 155.

FOH-HE.—Pages 12, 99, 195.

FU.—Pages 34, 35, 36, 40, 57, 59.

FUTTSU-NUSHI.—Son of Iwa-dzu-tsu-o. With Takemi-Kadzuchi, he succeeded to O-kuni-nushi in the government of Toyo-ashi-bara.—Pages 7, 9, 29.

GAI-MU-SHO.—Page 34.

GI-JI-IN.—Page 33.

GIO-BU-SHO.—Page 30.

GOSEI.—Page 60.

GENRO-IN.—Pages 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 52, 54, 69, 121, 136, 137, 138, 144, 145, 146, 150, 151, 154, 157, 158, 159, 175, 181.

IN.—Pages 57, 59, 60, 154.

INASA.—A district in the province of Izumo.—Page 7.

IYAYASU.—The first Tokugawa Shogun. He was born at Okasaki in Mikawa, in 1542. He served with Nobunaga and Hideyoshi. His first possessions were Mikawa and Suruga. In the latter province he built a fine castle at Sumpu (now Shidzuoka) in Suruga, and made it his residence for many years. While busy in building Yedo in 1598, he received news of Taiko Sama's sickness, attended his death-bed, and swore to protect and advance the interests of his child, Hideyori, then six years old. This, however, soon proved an hopeless task. At the death of his father the prospects of Hideyori were not very fine. In the first place few people believed him to be the son of Taiko Sama. In the second place the high spirited Lords, or nobles who prided themselves on their

blood and lineage, detested Hideyoshi as an upstart, and they had been kept in curb only by his indomitable will and genius. They were still more incensed at the idea of his son Hideyori, even if a true son, succeeding. Again Hidenobu, the nephew of Nobunaga, was living and put in a claim for power. His professed conversion to christianity gave him a show of support among the christian malcontents ; and Iyeyasu soon saw that unless a stronger hand than that of a child were at the helm, the ship of state would drift into a desperate position ; and it must have been, in a great measure, to save his country from ruin, that in spite of his vow, he deposed Hideyori and finally settled his own family in hereditary succession to the shogunate.

Having routed at Sekigahara on the west of lake Biwa, the army of the league that had formed against him and which was composed of the Lords and vassals of Hiroyoshi, all veterans just returned from Corea and commanded by the same generals that had so often led them on to victory, and having otherwise either annihilated or humbled his opponents, he commenced to consolidate his power by works of peace. His first care was to remove the elements of disorder out of which might have again grown the anarchy which he had just put an end to ; and it is in the performance of this task that his genius is especially seen.

Whenever two powerful clans that still bore a grudge against the Tokugawa name, were neighbors, he put between them, one of his own relatives or direct vassal which served to prevent the two Daimios from combining against him ; and lest any of his enemies should succeed in seizing the person of the Mikado as had been done repeatedly in times past, thereby rendering the military power which he had so carefully and so ably centered in his hands, useless as a means of resistance to such aggressions, he carefully made Kioto safe against all possible surprise.

Echizen commands Kioto from the north ; this he gave to his eldest son. Omi guards it from the east ; this was divided among his direct vassals, while Owari and Kii were assigned



to his sons. His fudai vassals or "household troupes" were also ranged on the west, while to the south-west was Osaka, a city in the government domain, ruled by his own officials. Thus the imperial capital was completely walled in by friends of Tokugawa, and isolated from their enemies.

Mori, once the Lord of ten provinces, and the enemy of Tokugawa, was put away into the extreme south-west of Hondo, all his territories except Nagato (Chosiu), being given to Tokugawa's direct vassals. Opposite to Nagato were Kokura and Chikuzen, enemies of Nagato. Shikoku was properly divided, so as to secure a preponderance of Tokugawa's most loyal vassals. Kiushiu was the weakest part of the system; yet even here Satsuma was last and farthest away, and Higo, his feudal rival and enemy, was put next, and the most skilful disposition possible made of the vassals and friends of Tokugawa.

In 1600 Iyeyasu employed an army of 300,000 laborers in Yedo, in enlarging the castle, digging moats and canals, grading streets, filling marshes and erecting buildings. Outside of Yedo the strength of the great unifier was spent on the public roads and highways. The Tokaido, a road skirting the Eastern sea from Kyoto to Tokio, was made what we find it to be to day; other roads, especially the mountain passes, bridges and ferries, were improved. In 1603 Iyeyasu was created a Sei-i-Tai-Shogun. In 1606 he retired from office in favor of his son Hidetada, whom for eleven years, he assisted in the establishment of the dynasty at Yedo. Only twice during his life time, was peace interrupted. The persecution of the christians was one instance, and the brief campaign against Hideyori, Taiko Sama's son, was the second. Around this young man had gathered most of the malcontents of the Empire. Iyeyasu found or sought a ground of quarrel against him, and on the 3d of June 1615, attacked the castle of Ozaka which was set on fire. A bloody battle, the last fought on the soil for 253 years, resulted in the triumph of Iyeyasu and the disappearance of Hideyori and his mother, who were probably consumed in the flames.

Iyeyasu spent the last year of his life at Sumpu, engaged in erasing the scars of war, securing the triumph of peace, perfecting his plans for fixing in stability his system of government and in collecting books and manuscripts. He bequeathed his "Legacy" or code of laws, to his descendants and chief retainers, and finally, died in 1616. Iyeyasu was first, buried at Kunosan, in Suruga; but his remains were afterwards removed to Nikko in the province of Shimotske. He was deified as Gongen Sama. There are shrines throughout the Empire dedicated to him. The 17th day of the 4<sup>th</sup> month is the day of his chief festival, but his shrine is also visited on the 17th day of each month. — Pages 10, 38, 39, 40, 42, 76, 91, 118, 120, 131, 185, 257, 261, 267.

J1-BU-SHO.—Page 30.

J1N-G1-KUWAN.—Pages 28, 31.

J1N-MU-TEN-O.—The first Emperor of Japan. He reigned from 660 to 681 B. C. He was the fourth son of Iito-nagi-no-mikoto, the son of Hiko-ho-ho-demi-nagi-no-mikoto, third son of Ninigi-no-mikoto who himself was the grand son of Ten-Sho Dai-jin. In the earliest periods of Japan neither the divines nor the common people had that selfish mind by which the first born only should succeed to the throne, but the most virtuous was elected as successor. So Jin-mu Ten-O sat on the place of Taish (Prince-Emperor) instead of his elder brothers, Issé-no-mikoto, Ina-ino-mikoto and Miké nu-no-mikoto. At the age of forty five, being with his elder brothers and his son Takishi-mimi-no-mikoto in the palace of Takachio, he said to them: « This province Hiuga, being very retired, is not a convenient place from which to subjugate the people in every part of the country. Might we not better complete the good work by removing to another district? Taka-mi-musubi-no-mikoto, or O-hiru-me-no-mikoto (an other name for Ten-Sho Dai-jin), the divine in heaven, in ancient times, gave the country named Midzuho, in Toyo-ashihara, to Hiko-ho-no-ninigi-no-mikoto, our progenitor. So he left Amano-mikura (a dwelling place in heaven) and descended from above to that region, pushing aside the Toye-gumo

(dense shelf of clouds) and sending his subjects before him to find out a passage. This was during the dark ages, and, therefore, above all, he tried to cause to prevail among the people, honesty in its most simple state, as imbibed in them at their birth. He ruled over the whole region, residing in the western district far in the interior of the country; and afterwards, our grand father and father passed a considerable time there, spreading happiness, and performing meritorious acts by reason of their sacred nature; so that it is now more than 2470 years from the time our progenitor descended from heaven to the present day. Notwithstanding this, in some remote districts of the country, there are still to be found numerous people who have not received the royal benevolence; and it is difficult to govern them, as each calls himself a Hito-go-no-kami (Lord or Chief), limits his dominions as he likes, and is engaged in fighting against his neighbors. A long time ago, I heard from Shio-tsuchi-no-okina, that there was a fine land, containing beautiful scenery of valleys and rivers surrounded by green mountains, lying in an eastern direction from the province of Hinga, and that some one had come down to that land from heaven in the Ama-no-ima-fune (the name of a sacred ship). He thinks this may be a good place from whence to rule over the people, in order to take the whole country under our dominion; and it may, perhaps, be the center of Rikugo (the six sides of the universe). He who descended from heaven to that land, must be Nini-haya-bi, as I heard he passed across the wide space by order of the progenitor of the divines in Heaven, and, after looking about the country, came down to the mountain peak called Ikaru-gaminé of Kamakami, in the province of Kawachi, and now lives on the Shiro-niwa mountain of Tarima, in the province of Yamato. Therefore I hope to establish a capital in this new-found land. What is your opinion about it?

His relations having approved of his plan, Jin-mu-Ten-O brought his army to the eastern regions. Subsequently he removed to Kibi, which has since been divided into three provinces, Bizen, Bitchiu and Bungo, and finally, having



accomplished his purposes, he founded his capital at Oshiwara, a place that is supposed to have stood where the village of Kashiwa-barra, county of Katsuragi, province of Yamato, now is. There he was married to Hime-tatara-isuzu-hime-no-mikoto, the daughter of Koto-shiro-nushi-no-kami, one of the rulers of the country; and having been publicly coronated, and having conferred rewards upon his officers, he spent the end of his life in quiet and peace. He is said to have died at the palace of Kashiwa-barra at the age of 137 years, and his burial place was in Onoye, at Shira-kashi, northeast of mount Unebi, at a spot now said to be a hill lying in the above direction from mount Unebi.—Pages 20, 27, 169, 261.

HAN.—Pages 34, 36.

HARA-KIRI. — A common mode of suicide. Here the man (for women never rip themselves open) holds the small knife in the left hand, and cuts from right to left eight inches across the abdomen, beneath the navel, and continues to cut upwards three inches (see Aishikaga).—Page 39.

HEA.—Page 12.

HEININ. — A class of men which before the Restoration of 1868, was composed of the husbandmen, the artisans and the merchants. Today in Japan whoever is not a member of the Imperial family, a *kuwazoku* (noble), or a *shizoku*, is a *heinin*.—Page 136.

HENO-WAKA-MIYA.—It is the name of the place in heaven where one goes after death. *Hi* means fire; *waka*, young and *miya*, palace.—Page 263.

HIO-BU-SHO.—Page 30.

HIRAGI-HOKO.—Pages 6, 8, 9.

HIRATA ATSUTANE. — Was born in 1776 at the town of Kubota, in Dewa, the capital of that remote district in the north of Japan, commonly called Akita. His father was Owada Sei-bei, a *samurai* of the Satake family, who traced back his descent to Ten-Sho Dai-jin through Kuammu Ten-O, the fiftieth Mikado from Jin-mu, and enjoyed a pension of a hundred *koku* of rice. Hirata's works are composed in two styles, the one almost entirely colloquial, the other formed on

the model of the ancient prose writers, and crowded with obsolete words which add considerably to the difficulties of the student. His scholarship appears to have been very extensive, and without a wide acquaintance with ancient Chinese literature and Buddhism, it would be impossible to follow him into the remote regions wither his researches sometimes carry him. He speaks so frequently of analogies between the native traditions and those of the Buddhists and ancient Chinese, which he interprets by the theory that the latter borrowed from the Japanese, that it is a matter of regret not to be able to test his statements; since if the supposed analogies really exist, they would be of considerable use in tracing the relationship of the Japanese to the races of the Asiatic continent. Hirata died at Kubota in 1843, being therefore over sixty-seven years of age.—Pages VII, 28.

HIRO-SACHI-NO-MIKOTO.—A kami who discovered the art of constructing houses.—Page 260.

HOJIO, or HOJO. — The Hôjô family traced their descent from the Mikado Kuammu (782-805) through Sadamori, a Taira noble, from whom Hôjô Tokimasa, the father of Masago, Minamoto Yoritomo's wife, was the seventh in descent. Their ancestors had settled at Hôjô, in Idzu, whence they took their name. But it was only in the 12th century that the Hojio family rose to real prominence, when Hojio Tokimasa succeeded in bringing his own influence and power to the highest pitch. Tokimasa's authority was continued in his family during seven generations (1199-1333). The names of his successors, eleven in number, are Yoshitori, Yasutoki, Tsunetoki, Tokiyori, Masatoki, Tokimune, Sadatoki, Morotoki, Hirotoke, Takatoki and Moritoki. Of these, the third, fourth, and fifth were the ablest and most devoted to public business. It was on the strength of their merit and fame that their successors were so long able to hold power. The Hôjô referred to in our quotation of the Dai-Nippon-Kaibiyaku-Yurai-iki, is doubtless the first of the line of rulers, Hojo Tokimasa. None of the Hôjô ever seized the office of Shogun, but in reality they wielded all and more of the power attaching to

the office under the title of *shikken*. With a nominal Mikado at Kioto, and a nominal Shogun at Kamakura and Hôjô being keepers of both, had all the powers of government centred in their hands, unopposed they swayed the whole Empire. — Page 183.

KAI-GUN-SHO.—Page 34.

K A-TAKU-SHI.—Page 36.

KAMI.—“God” is evidently the same word as *kami* applied to a superior, as to a master by his servant, or to the sovereign by his subjects, to the chief officer of a sub-department of the administration, and in ancient times, to the governor of a province. Its primary meaning is «that which is above», and hence «chief». So that for instance Izanagi-no-scho-kami would mean great chief Izanagi. The *kami* of the Sinto faith, with the exception of Kuni-toko-tachi-no-mikoto, Tsuchi-no-mikoto, and Toyo-no-mikoto, or the Japanese, Trinity, are historical personages who have been deified, and petitions are offered to them at the Shinto shrines, called Miya, Gu, Yashiro or Jinta. There are 13,730 *kami* of which 3,122 are known to have shrines. The petitions offered at the Miya are called Roku-kon-no-harai (petitions of six origins), anger, grief, kindness, protection, dishonesty, and avarice or selfishness. As a rule, Miya have a mirror on the altar, as an emblem of purity. There are reasons to believe that metallic mirrors played an important role in religious ceremonies with the Arian people who are believed to have lived in prehistorical times in Siberia (see Ritter, *Erdkunde, Asien*, t. II, p. 119. 120—also Lassen, *Zeitschrift der deutsch-morgentl. Gesellsch.* t. II, p. 59, and Mannest, *Germania*).—Page 262.

KANTO.—Page 7.

KEIKO TEN-O. — The twelfth Emperor who reigned from 71 to 130 B. C.—Page 7.

KEN.—Pages 34, 35, 36, 40, 45, 57, 59, 136, 141.

KENRO-SEKAI.—Distinguished country.—Page 8.

KIN-MEI-TEN-O, or Kin-Mai-Ten-O. — The sixty third Emperor who reigned from 540 to 571. A. D.—Page 30.

KIO.—Page 35.



KIO-BU-SHO.—Page 34.

KIUN-KI-CHU.—Page 31.

KO-BU-SHO.—Page 34.

KOJIKI.—Pages 6, 88.

KOGO.—Empress.—Pages 90.

KAMUROME-NO-MIKOTO or Kamuromi-no-mikoto. -- Page 260.

KOMPIRA. — (Metallic (like) protector (of the) multitude). Sosano, the unruly brother of Ten-Sho Dai-jin, and, later, Shutoku-in, the 75th Mikado, have been included among these deities. Sailors pray devoutly to Kompira for protection from elements; and stories of ship-wrecked people having been saved by Kompira coming to the rescue, are numerous. The Shinto name for Kompira is Kotohira. The principal shrine is that called Dzo-dzu-san in Sanuki, to which numerous pilgrims resort throughout the year.—Page 267.

KUCHI-YESO.—Page 29.

KUDO-NO-KAMI.—The Kami of roads.—Page 8.

KUNI-TOKO-TACHI-NO-MIKOTO.—Page 258.

KU-NAI-SHO.—Page 30, 31, 159.

KUSHI-MITAMA.—Strange spirit.—Pages 28, 29.

KUWAZOKU.—Pages 104, 136, 137, 138, 139, 165, 166.

MABUCHI.—Was a man of ancient lineage, being descended from Take-tsunumi-no-mikoto, the demi-god who took the form of a gigantic crow and acted as guide to Jin-mu Ten-O in his invasion of Yamashiro. He was born at Okabé in 1697. Mabuchi was a very voluminous writer. A list of his works is given at the end of the notice of his life in the Sanjiurok' riakuden. He died in 1769 at the age of 72, and was buried at the buddhist monastery of Todaiji, at Shinagawa, near Tokio.—Page 7.

MASA-YA-O-KATSU-KATSU-HAYA-HI-AMÉ-NO-OCHI-HO-MIMI-NO-MIKOTO. — Son of Ten-Sho Dai-jin and father of Ni-ni-gi-no-mikoto.—Page 27.

MAYABARA. — A member of the Dai Jo Kuwan after 1868, and a chief of rebels in 1877.—Page 103.

MEIJI.—Literally enlightened peace.—Pages 131, 196.

MIKADOATE. — System of imperial government peculiar to Japan.—Page 132.

MIKADO.—Emperor.—Page 27.

MITAMA.—Spirit.—Pages 27, 29, 99.

MIN SHEN GI IN. — Pages 65, 66, 69, 100, 136, 137, 139, 141, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 151, 152, 154, 157, 158, 159, 163, 171, 175, 176, 180.

MIYA.—See Kami.—Page 258.

MIZUHO.—A district of Toyo-ashi-bara.—Page 88.

MOM-BU-SHO.—Page 34.

MOSHI.—A chinese moralist. His chinese name is Mengtse. By westerners he is called Mencius.

MOSIN or Monin.—Page 30.

MOTOORI NORINAGA.—This remarkable scholar and critic was born in 1730 at Matsuzaka in Isé. Like the other members of the pure shinto school, Motoōri devoted a great deal of attention to the study of the ancient language, and composed numerous works of great value in this department of learning. He died in 1801, and was buried in a tomb which he had previously caused to be constructed at the monastery of Miorakuji near Matsuzaka.—Page 7.

MURA-KUMO-NO-TSURU-GI.—Pages 27, 28, 125.

MURO-KUMO-NO-TSURU-GI.—See Mura-kumo-no-tsurugi.

NAI DAI-JIN.—Page 31.

NAI-KAKU.—Pages 43, 45, 47, 48, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 60, 66, 69, 70, 99, 135, 136, 145, 148, 149, 152, 153, 154, 155, 157, 158, 159, 163, 171, 172, 180.

NAI-MU-SHO.—Pages 34, 66, 135, 148.

NAKA-TSUKASA-NO-SHO.—Page 30.

NICHI-RIN-SEKAI. — The world of the sun (the universe), or Japan. In the earliest days of their existence as a nation, the Japanese thought that Japan comprised the whole universe.—Page 29.

NIGI-MITAMA.—Harmonious spirit.—Pages 28, 29.

NIHONGI.—History of Japan.—Page 88.

NIHON-SOTSUI-HASHI.—Commander in chief of the army.—Page 38.

NI-NI-GI-NO-MIKOTO. — Contraction of Amatsu-hitaka-ho-no-ninigi-no-mikoto, the grand son of Ten-Sho Dai-jin. — Pages 27, 28.

OJIN-TEN-O. — The sixteenth Mikado. He reigned from 270 to 310 after Christ. — Pages 1, 196.

OKI-TSU-HIKO-NO-KAMI. — The kami of furnaces. — Page 260.

OKI-TSU-HIME-NO-MIKOTO. — Page 261.

OKU YESSO. — Page 29.

O-KUNI-NUSHI. — Literally ruler over a country. — Page 8.

O-KURA-SHO. — Pages 30, 34, 43, 71, 110, 140, 143, 167, 207, 215, 218, 219, 244.

REI. — Pages 136, 141.

RIPPO. — Page 60.

RIKU-GUN-SHO. — Page 34.

RONGO. — Page 196.

SA DAI-JIN. — Pages 31, 35, 59, 157.

SAIBANSHO. — A generic name for japanese courts of law. — Page 41.

SA-IN. — Pages 34, 40, 43, 63, 93.

SAKI-MITAMA. — Happy spirit. — Pages 28, 29.

SAMURAI. — Members of the shizoku class. — Pages 102, 120.

SANGI. — Pages 35, 47.

SEI-IN. — Pages 40, 43, 48, 66.

SEKAI SOHON-SHIN-NO-HOI. — The throne of the general Lord of the world. — Page 27.

SHI. — Pages 34, 36, 40, 57, 59, 60, 154.

SHIKI-BU-SHO. — Page 30.

SHIZOKU. — Pages 104, 139.

SUO. — Pages 35, 36, 40, 57, 59, 60, 154.

SHOGUN. — Pages 31, 38, 39.

SHOGUNATE. — Page 75.

SINTO or SHINTO. — Pages 90, 124, 183, 258, 260, 262.

SINTOIST. — A follower of the sinto faith. — Page 98.

SONIN. — An honorific rank. — Pages 46, 50.



SOSA-NO-O-NO-MIKOTO.—Son of Izanami and Izanagi, and brother of Ten-Sho Dai-jin.—Page 28.

SUME-MI-MA-NA-NO-MIKOMO. — Another name for Ni-ni-gi-no-mikoto.—Page 261.

TA.—Page 35.

TAIKO-SAMA.—One of the most famous men in Japan. He was born in 1536 at Nakamura, district of Aichi, province of Owari, from parents of the peasant class, and was named Hiyoshi maru (good sun). During his boyhood he was nicknamed Kochiku (small boy) and Saru matsu (monkey pine). Eventually he became a groom to Nobunaga (Nai Dai-jin under the reign of Go-Nara Ten-O); and subsequently, first, he became a soldier, when he assumed the name of Kinoshita Tokichiro, and after, a general, then changing his name to Hashiba. Lastly, he rose to the dignity of Kuambaku (regent or premier), the highest office to which a subject could attain, under the name of Toyotomi Hideyoshi. In 1591 he resigned his office in favor of his son, at the same time taking the title of Taiko and hence became known to the people as Taiko Sama (honorable Taiko). He died in 1598 and was buried in the grounds of Kodaiji, in Kioto. The immediate ambition of Hideyoshi's life was to conquer Corea and even China. It had been his dream when a boy, and his plan when a man. Finally, when in 1593, through some Chinese emigrants, he heard of the military disorganization and anarchy in the latter country, he determined to put his plan into execution. Accordingly, having assembled his generals, he fired their enthusiasm by recounting exploits mutually achieved; and then proposed to march to Peking, and divide the soil of China in fiefs among them. They unanimously agreed, and departed to various provinces to prepare troops and material. Hideyoshi himself went to Kiushiu. He expected to lead the army in person; but being sixty years old, and infirm, at the instances of his old mother, he remained behind (1594). The expedition met with success; and the Japanese army was on the point of invading China, when the death of Taiko was announced, and orders were received from the government

to return home. Before his death, Taiko Sama had settled the form of government; and the most enduring monuments of this great man were the political institutions and the works of peace reared by his genius and labor. In his time, the arts and sciences were not only in a very flourishing condition, but gave promise of rich development. The spirit of military enterprise and internal national improvement was at its height. Contact with the foreigners of many nations awoke a spirit of inquiry and intellectual activity not witnessed before. On the seas that genius and restless activity found a congenial field. Taiko's era is marked by the highest perfection in marine architecture and the extent and variety of commercial enterprises. The ships built in this century, were twice or thrice the size, and vastly the superior in model, of the junks that now hug the Japanese shores, or ply yet between China and Japan. The pictures of them preserved to this day, show that they were superior in size to the vessels of Columbus, and nearly equad in sailing qualities to the contemporary Dutch and Portuguese galleons. They were provided with ordnance; and a model of a Japanese breech-loading cannon is still preserved in Kioto. Ever a brave and adventurous people, the Japanese then roamed the seas with a freedom that one who knows only of the modern shore-bound people, would scarcely credit. Voyages of trade, discovery, or piracy had been made to India, Siam, Burmah, the Philippines, southern China, the Malay archipelago, and the Kuriles, on the north, even in the fifteenth century, but were most numerous in the sixteenth. The Japanese gave its name to the island of Roson (Luzon), and the descendants of Japanese traders are still to be found in numbers in this archipelago. In the city of Ayuthaya, on the Menam, in Siam, a flourishing sea-port, the people call one part of the place, "the Japanese quarter". And when the records of the Far East are thoroughly investigated, and this subject fully studied, very interesting results will be obtained, showing the wide spread influence of Japan at a time when she was scarcely known by the European world to have existence.—Pages 183, 185.

**TAIRA-NO-KIYOMORI.** — The son of Taira Tadamori, the head of the house of Taira, on whom the emperor Toba bestowed the island of Tsushima. Taira-no-Kiyomi was born in 1123. He distinguished himself greatly against the pirates that infested the Suwo-nada, and finally destroyed their lurking place. In 1156, he was made minister of justice. In 1156 he defeated the Minamoto party in the first battle that took place between their adherents and those of his own house; and in 1157, having obtained permission of the Imperial palace, he assumed the control of affairs in the Empire. This was the beginning of the dominion of the military classes that lasted till 1868. In that same year Taira-no-Kiyomi was made Dai-Jo Dai-jin. In 1171 he made his own daughter first, the concubine and afterwards, the wife of the Emperor Takasura, a boy then eleven years of age. He died of sickness at Kyoto in 1181, cursing his rival Yoritomo of the Minamoto. He was then the grand father of the Emperor on his mother's side.—Page 183.

**TAKA-MA-GA-HARA.** — High plain of heaven. — Pages 27, 29, 88.

**TAKE-MINA-KATA.** — Son of O-kuni-nushi. — Page 7.

**TAKE-MIKA-DZUCHI.** — Son of Hiwa-no-hayaki. With Futsunushi he succeeds O-kuni-nushi in the government of Teye-Ashi-bara. — Pages 7, 9, 27.

**TAKU-HATA-CHICHI-HIME-MIKOTO.** — The kami of weaving. — Page 260.

**TAOKI-HO-HI-NO-MIKOTO.** — The kami of architecture. — Page 260.

**TEI-SHO DAI-JIN.** — Great goddess of the shining heaven. She is the first and principal of the kami, and the only one of whom there is no historical record of life on this earth. The principal miya are in Ise, called Dai-jin Gu, where there are two, the older called the "outer", the other the "inner". Tei-Sho Dai-jin has shrines throughout the Empire, but there is no regular distribution of them, all depending on the local popular fancy. All devout men and women are supposed to go at least once in pilgrimage to Ise: and poor people are



frequently met begging their way thither. — Pages 6, 7, 8, 27, 28, 29, 88, 99, 260, 261.

TOYO-ASHI-HARA. — Fertile rich plain, another name for Japan. — Pages 7, 27.

TOYO-NO-MIKOTO. — Page 258.

TSUCHI-NO-MIKOTO. — Kami of earth. — Page 258.

UDAISHO-YORITOMO. — He was the commander in chief of the army in the time of Gotoba Ten-O, and is counted among the ablest men of whom Japan can boast. He was born in 1146 and was of the Minamoto family. That family had been founded by Tsunemoto, the grand son of the Emperor Seiwa, who reigned from 859 to 880 A. D. and was minister of war. It is he who founded the city of Kamakura where once the wealth of thirty three provinces centred; and it is there that previous to his final and successful struggle with the Taira clan at Dan-no-ura, near Shimonoseki in 1185, he fixed his power. In 1192 he was appointed Sei-i-Tai-shogun (barbarian subjugating great general); and from that time, governed the country in the name and for the sake of the Mikado. He died in 1199, being then fifty three years old and having ruled over the Empire fifteen years. He is the founder of the dual system of government in Japan. — Page 183.

U DAI-JIN. — Pages 31, 35, 157.

UFUOTA. — Page 183.

U-IN. — Pages 34, 43.

WANI. — Page 196.

YAHIRO-NO-HOKO. — Eight fathom spear. — Page 9.

YAHIRO-NO-HATADONE. — Page 9.

YAMATO-TAKE-NO-MIKOTO. — The bravest man in Japan. He was the second son of Kei-ko Ten-O (71-130. A. D.), and the grand father of Ojin Ten-O (210-310 A. D.) who became famous in history. Yamato Také's success in single combat with the rebel chief Shikaga, and afterwards, his expedition to Yeso, also the death of his heroic wife Adzuma, by drowning in the bay of Yedo, and his own death from wounds received in battle, together with other adventures, give to his life an air of pure romance which has made more than one doubt that

he ever existed. But I agree with Mr. Griffis, the brilliant author of the *Mikado's Empire*, who considers him to have been a historical personage and his deeds a part of genuine history. It is said that when he died in 113, he was but thirty-six years of age.—Page 9.

YASA-GAMI-NO-TAMA. — A precious stone and one of the three sacred treasures left by Ten-Sho Dai-Jin to the Mikados.— Pages 28, 28, 125.

YATA-NO-KAGAMI.—A mirror and one of the three sacred treasures left by Ten-Sho Dai-jin to the Mikado. — Pages 27, 27, 125.

YEZO or YESO.—Page 29.



## ERRATA.

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- Page II, 6th line from the top, for *measures* read *measure*.  
Page III, note, 2d line from the top, for *S. W.* read *S. E.*  
Page 21, 4th line from the bottom, for *China herself, which* read *China which*.  
Page 25, note, 2d line from the top, for *the heard* read *the head*.  
Page 29, note 2, line 5th from the bottom, for *Yeso in* read *Yeso is*.  
Page 31, note, line 2d from the bottom, for *2868* read *1868*.  
Page 44, line 14th from the top, for *servants* read *ancestors*.  
Page 54, line 4th from the top, for of the *views* read *of the vices*.  
Page 66, line 5th from the top, for *Sa-In* read *Set-In*.  
Page 70, line 5th from the top, for *only of* read *only at*.  
Page 75, line 3d from the bottom, for *was guided* read *was not guided*.  
Page 77, note 12, for *see pages 37 and 38* read *see pages 40 and 41*.  
Page 80, line 6th from the bottom, for *had time, to give* read *had time to give*.  
Page 81, line 5th from the bottom, for *existence, for* read *existence for*.  
Page 82, line 3d from the top, for *religions* read *religious*.  
Page 85, note, for *see pages 33 and 34* read *see pages 31 and 32*.  
Page 86, note, for *pages 31 and 32* read *page 32*.  
Page 88, note, line 5th from the bottom, for *a It is not* read *It is not*.  
Page 89, note, line 9th from the bottom, for *a Again the* read *Again the*, and last line of the note, for *and breadth. »* read *and breadth*.  
Page 90, 2d line from the bottom, for *Gingo Ten-O* read *Gingo Kogo*.  
Page 91, 3d line from the bottom, for *and, found there,* read *and found there*.  
Page 92, note, 8th line from the bottom, for *(Itou group)* read *Itourouf*.  
Page 99, note 13, for *see page 29* read *see page 12*.  
Page 103, line 7th from the bottom, for *wheter* read *whether*.  
Page 121, line 5th from the top, for *procedure '4.* read *procedure '4 »*.  
Page 124, note 22, 5d line from the top, for *privade likes, and* read *private likes and*.  
Page 127, 4th line from the top, for *as well,* read *as well*.  
Page 128, 6th line from the bottom, for *Palatius* read *Palatinus*.  
Page 129, 2d line from the top, for *he* read *we*.  
Page 131, 3d line from the bottom, for *which* read *while*.  
Page 132, 9th line from the top, for *influnce, that* read *influnce that*.  
Page 141, 11th line from the top, for *as should* read *as should be*.  
Page 142, note 6, table, children under 14 years, males, for *8,754,726* read *4,754,926*.  
Page 145, 11th line from the bottom, for *member* read *number*.  
Page 154, note 8, for *see pages 31 and 32* read *see page 31*.  
Page 156, 4th line from the bottom, for *transcent* read *transient*.  
Page 159, 3rd line from the top, for *decrease* read *decease*, and line 4th from the bottom, for *enacted* read *promulgated*.  
Page 162, note 4, for *see page 60* read *see page 59*, and note 6 for *146 to 153* read *146 to 152*.  
Page 163, note 8, for *117, 118 and 119* read *117 and 119*.



Page 164, 14th line from the top, for *unfound* read *unfounded*.

- » 176, 11th line from the top, for *houses* read *house*; 12th line from the top, for *as body* read *as a body*; 13th line from the top, for *perceptible to all* the read *perceptibles to all*, the and note 27, for *see pages 188 to 189* read *see pages 168 to 170*.
- » 181, 4th line from the bottom, for *under present* read *under the present*.
- » 182, 6th line from the top, for *fancies*, for read *fancies for*.
- » 183, note, 1st line, for *pages 25, 26, 35 and 36* read *pages 35 and 36*.
- » 185, 11th line from the bottom, for *carrers* read *careers*.
- » 187, 11th line from the bottom, for *the way* read *their way*.
- » 192, 9th line from the top, for *very* read *was*.
- » 194, 8th line from the bottom, for *which he needs* read *he needs*, and note 5, for *see appendix A, first page* read *see appendix A, THE LITERATI, etc. page 270*.
- » 200, 4th line from the bottom, for *charges* read *charge*.
- » 201, 11th line from the top, for *cours*, read *course*.
- » 202, 5th line from the top, for *forced* read *formed*.
- » 205, note 24, for *see pages 156, 157 and 158* read *see pages 155, 156 and 157*.
- » 208, note, total of column *STATUTE MILES*, for *108,127.20* read *108,127.30*.
- » 217, note 7, 4th line from the top, for *1,477 yen* read *1.477 yen*.
- » 219, note, 14th line from the bottom, for  $6\frac{48}{100}$  read  $6\frac{48}{100}$ .
- » 224, 6th line from the top, for *from no less* read *from them no less*.
- » 227, 7th line from the bottom, for *day* read *they*.
- » 231, 5th line from the bottom, for *profitable* read *probable*.
- » 237, note, for 之 read 育.
- » 239, 12th line from the bottom, for *by exported* read *be exported*.
- » 240, note 5, for *see pages 174 to 178* read *see pages 156 and 157*.
- » 251, note 6, for *see pages 156, 157 and 158* read *see pages 156 and 157*.
- » 273, note, 6th line from the left, for 人 read 之.

Explanatory note inserted between pages 274 and 275, page II, 12th line from the top for *sometimes and sometimes crooked straight* read *sometimes crooked and sometimes straight*.

Page 280, 2d line from the top, for *And* read *Add*.

- » 287, 2d line from the top, for *to them* read *them*.
- » 288, 6th from the bottom, for *hinded* read *hindered*, and 4th line from the bottom for *question* read *question of religion*.
- » 292, 1st line from the bottom, for *1878* read *1870*.
- » 310, note, first line for *7 Fus* read *7 The species of paper not given in column 60 of the table inserted opposite to page 293, are hereunder, designated by numbers that guide to corresponding numbers in the list above opposite to which are to be found the names of said species for each ken : FUS.—*
- » 331, note 7, for *see note 116* read *see note 16*.
- » 351, 9th line from the top, for *page VII-IX* read *pages VII, 9*.



Page 59, line 4th from the bottom, for *is erroneous. Although* read *is erroneous, although*.

Page 60, line 4th from the top, a full stop after *of advancement*.

Page 83, last line of the page, for *requisite experience required* read *requisite experience*.

Page 122, 9th line from the top, for *if these* read *and if these*.

Page 142, 1st line of the page, for *the election* read *the drawing*.

Page 153, line 6th from the top, for *the faults* read *the administration*.

Page 220, 1st line, for *than* read *be less than*.

Page 225, note 14, table, OCCUPATIONS, for *and mining. Industries* read *and mining industries*.

Explanatory note inserted between pages 274 and 275, line 6th from the top, for *fig. 2* read *fig. 1*.

Page 300, Fertilizers and Horse feed, No. 5, for *Gimpun* read *Jinpun*.

Page 307, Articles of food, No. 2, for *Undou* read *Undon*.

Page 308, No. 15, for *Guraku* read *Sen Giuraku*.

Page 310, No. 32, for 甘酪 read 乾酪.

Page 312, No. 22, for *Sanka* read *Senka*.

Page 313, No. 54, for カミズギイ read カミザイン.

Page 324, No. 6, 3d line, for 半天等引股 read 半天等股引.

Page 325, No. 11, 2d line, for 前利 read 前掛.

Page 368, 4th line from the top, for *perceptibles* read *perceptible*.







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